Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-89-248 *28 December 1989*

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1990 Draft Plan Presented to Council of Ministers

AU2812092789 Tirana ATA in English 0732 GMT 28 Dec 89

["For the Fulfilment of the Plan of 1989 and the Main Tasks of the Draft Plan of the Development of the Economy and Culture for 1990 —From the Report Presented in the Name of the Council of Ministers by Comrade Niko Gjyzari, Chairman of the State Planning Commission"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 28 (ATA)—This session of the People's Assembly is devoted to the balance sheet of the achievements and the tasks of the economic and cultural development of the country during the last two years of the 8th five year plan, 1989-1990, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said among others. It conducts its proceedings following the marked activities, the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the liberation on the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

Under the resolute and far-sighted leadership of the party, with the united strength of the people and the organized work in these four and a half decades the structure of the economy and the society changed totally, the productive forces were multiplied, the independence of the country was guaranteed and the people's living became more dignified.

We notice with pleasure that the achievements of 1989, this jubilee year, are the highest of this five year plan. The economy made further forward steps. The social product and the national incomes marked high rates of growth, the financial and currency possibilities of the country increased, the program of capital investments was further promoted, the incomes of the population increased and the market was better supplied with foodstuffs and industrial articles.

During 1989, according to the principles of our foreign policy, the relations and cooperation with the other states were further extended in many directions. The activities made in the exchanges with various countries reflect clearly the readiness of our country for more intensive relations and a more extended cooperation in the political, economic, trade, technical-scientific fields with many countries of the world.

Socialist Albania follows with attention the present situation in the world, which is entirely complex and turbulent. It will always make its contribution to the efforts for the cause of the peace and security in the Balkans and the world.

Speaking on the realisation of the plan of 1989, he said that in 1989 as against 1988, the social product increases over six per cent, whereas the national incomes 10 per cent. Right proportions were ensured in the development of the synthetic indexes of the economy. The national and economic incomes increase at higher rates than the social product. The fund of accumulation increases more than the fund of consumption and the production for the society grows quicker than the product for oneself. As against 1988 the average real incomes per capita of the population increased about two per cent in the city and the village 4.6 per cent.

During 1989, the level of industrial processing and the economic evaluation of the natural assets of the country increased as a result of the good utilisation of the existing productive capabilities and the new ones as well. The tasks in copper ore extraction and the production of the copper wires and cables, the iron nickel extraction, the production of chemical fertilizers, the machineries and equipments, some products of the light and food industries were realised and overfulfilled.

In comparison with 1988, the industrial production increases 5.6 percent, and the districts of Tirana, Korce, Durres, Kukes, Lezhe, Gjirokaster, etc. claim distinction in particular.

A success of special value, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said further on, is the growth of agricultural production up to nine per cent. The tasks of the plan of the production and the yields in sugar beet, barley and sunflower are realised. Many districts such as Korce, Kruje, Lezhe, Pogradec, Tirana, Shkoder, Gjirokaster and some other marked achievements in wheat production.

A good work was made in livestock sector regarding the increase of the number of heads and the livestock products, especially the consolidation of collective yard.

During 1989 in the context of the revolutionary drives and movements of the masses, an intensive work was made to complete and commission ahead of time some important projects to increase the efficiency of the social product. Over nine thousand projects were constructed. The social productivity of labour is realised and through its growth it ensured nearly 47 per cent of the increase of the social product.

The indexes we presented and which synthesize the rates of the development of our economy during 1989, he underlined, are a clear testimony to the great vitality of our people, the line of our party, and socialist order. The good achievements of this year and the continuous readiness of the working masses to engage themselves in and to realise greater tasks has been and are a great instigation to carry them ahead in the coming year.

Speaking of the Draft Plan of the development of the economy and of culture for 1990, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said that the Draft Plan of 1990 has in its foundation the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the party and of the plenums held after it. It reflects the numerous and valuable opinions and proposals of the working masses, the workers and cooperativists, of the cadres and specialists, innovators of the entire country.

As against 1989, social product is foreseen to increase by 7.9 percent, national income 8.2 percent, the real incomes per capita of the population 3.4 percent, industrial production 8.6 percent, agricultural production 15

percent, the volume of investments 1.4 percent, export 33.4 percent, goods turnover 5.1 percent, and social labour productivity 4.4 percent.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha taught us, the origin of our plans is the working man, the fulfilment of his growing demands. Proceeding from this directive, it is foreseen that for 1990 further improvements will be made in supplying the people. The funds of foodstuff and other articles will be larger and more guaranteed. Consequently improvements will be made also in the consumption per capita of the population in many articles.

Improvements are occurring also in the supply of the peasantry.

The export-import draft plan reflects also the tasks set by the Sixth plenum of the party Central Committee. Export will occupy 10.7 percent in the total of the social product, as against 8.8 percent it was in 1989. The currency balance sheet relies on a more guaranteed production and on a greater commitment for export of the other branches of the economy.

The development of the branches of material production and the sociocultural sectors relies also on the programme of investments, which in 1990 are foreseen to be 4.8 billion leks. The productive investments take 83.4 percent of the overall investments, whereas those of the non-producing sphere 16.6 percent. The extensions and reconstructions of the productive projects will occupy 20 percent of the total investments.

Work will go on during 1990 in 218 main projects, out of which 38 will be newly-built. Ninety-Six projects altogether will be completed and delivered, out of them 60 are productive projects and 63 others will be partially commissioned.

Intensive but fully realizable tasks are envisaged for the promotion of the industrial production, especially of the mineral extracting and processing industry, he said further on.

In 1990, as compared to 1989, oil and gas extraction are envisaged to increase 16.4 percent, the production of electric energy 18 percent and coal 6 percent.

Rich chrome extraction will increase 25 percent, of iron-nickel seven percent and copper six percent. Against 1989, in metallurgy, the production of laminated steels will increase seven percent, of basic carbonate of nickel 18 percent and carbonic ferrochrome 55 percent.

In the chemistry branch, the production of the chemical fertilizers will increase by 170,000 tons, relying on the commissioning of the urea plant and the extension of superphosphate. Production of Calcinated soda, pesticides etc., are envisaged to increase.

Improvements in the structure of production are envisaged to be done in the engineering branch. Hence, the production of spare parts for the needs of agriculture, transport, etc. grows.

Light industry foresees augmentation in all main products.

The increase of production in the foodstuff industry and improvements in their structure rely on the most guaranteed tasks foreseen for the development of agriculture, the more complete exploitation of the productive capacities and on the gathering and processing in time of all agricultural and livestock products.

The Draft Plan of 1990 envisages perceptible increase in the agricultural and livestock products. Priority is given to the production of bread grains and livestock products, the level in the industrial plants will be the same and an increase of the production vegetables, potatoes, and beans is foreseen.

In implementing the tasks of the Seventh plenum of the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers has supported the development of agriculture through investments, the strengthening and improvement of the tractors station, the increase of the irrigation potential with 11,000 hectares, the utilisation of additional chemical fertilizers of 157,000 tons, etc.

The targets of the Draft Budget for 1990, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said, are relatively high, but fully realizable. Many of them have been attained by many working collectives, even by whole districts.

The Council of Ministers assures the People's Assembly that it will adopt the necessary measures for the perfection everywhere of the method of management and will be more exigent in meeting the targets to be approved by this session of the People's Assembly on all fronts, Comrade Niko Gjyzari said in conclusion.

Interior Minister Tanev Replaced by Semerdzhiev

AU2712203289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] By Decree No. 2,929, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria relieves Major General Georgi Sotirov Tanev from the post of minister of internal affairs, and appoints as minister of internal affairs Colonel General Atanas Georgiev Semerdzhiev.

By Decree No. 2,930, the State Council relieves Lyuben Stoyanov Gotsev from the post of deputy minister of foreign affairs, and appoints him first deputy minister of internal affairs.

By Decree No. 2,931, the State Council relieves Col Gen Atanas Georgeiv Semerdzhiev from the post of first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; and appoints Col Gen Khristo Dobrev Stoyanov, first deputy minister of national defense, also to the post of chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army.

By Decree No. 2,932, the State Council relieves Lieutenant General Yordan Zhekov Mutafchiev from the post of commander of the Army and appoints him as deputy minister of national defense.

Podkrepa Calls Off 28 Dec General Strike

AU2712165689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1635 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Declaration by Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation"—read by announcer]

[Text] The Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, bearing in mind the decision of the official authorities on holding a roundtable meeting on the country's immediate political and economic problems with the representatives of the democratic opposition, in the form of the Union of Democratic Forces, has decided as follows:

As a mark of good will and a constructive approach, it calls upon its members and sympathizers tomorrow, 28 December, to hold a symbolic 2-hour strike instead of the previously announced real general strike.

We hope that this positive step will be followed by other decisive measures toward true democratization and pluralism.

Podkrepa Leader Appeals for 'Symbolic Strike'

AU2712213789 Sofia BTA in English 2109 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—The resolution of the Independent Federation of Labour "Podkrepa" to replace the general strike declared for tomorrow by a two-hour symbolic strike was announced for the third time today by the leader of the federation Dr Konstantin Trenchev on the Bulgarian TV.

He characterized the resolution of the Federative Council of "Podkrepa" as a sign of goodwill and a constructive approach. The federation has taken into account the declaration of the official authorities for starting of a dialogue at the roundtable with the representatives of the democratic opposition on the pressing political and economic problems of Bulgaria, reads the declaration of Podkrepa.

Dr Konstantin Trenchev expressed hope that this positive step of the Bulgarian Government will be followed by other decisive steps toward real democracy and pluralism.

More Than 70 Plants Join 'Warning Strike'

AU2712170689 Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Podkrepa Calls for Token Strike"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—Today whole working teams or individual workers at more than 70 enterprises in the country went on a two-hour warning strike insisting on immediate radical democratic changes. These are preliminary data released by the leadership of the Independent Labour Federation Podkrepa (Support).

Podkrepa had made a call for a general political strike on December 28. After last night's announcement about the decision of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] for holding round-table talks with the independent organizations in January next year Podkrepa came out with an appeal for making tomorrow's strike a token one. A declaration has been prepared which will be circulated this evening.

Sofia City BCP Leader on Success of Strikes

AU2712224889 Sofia BTA in English 2136 GMT 27 Dec 89

["The Sofia Party Leader Appeals for Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—After the end of the working hours today a BTA reporter visited Mr Georgi Grigorov, first secretary of the Sofia City Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. He interviewed him about the results of the warning strike announced by the Independent Federation of Labour "Podkrepa".

"The Sofia working class and the Sofia working people displayed high political maturity and responsibility," he said. They did not give way to the appeals of Podkrepa, and what is more at meetings the collectives discussed this approach. Dominating was the desire for a sincere and good-willed labour, will for dialogue and support of the course of the BCP and the state after November 10. At the same time constructive recommendations were made, appeals were raised not to deviate from the road of restructuring.

In the Glavproyekt Organization (a design company) nine people, the organizers of the strike, have not worked; at the chemical-pharmaceutical works 15 people, and in the transport company Avtosnab 3 people. Eighty people of the printing base of the BTA also entered symbolically into the warning strike.

In the hours proclaimed for the strike 140 people of "Niproruda" Company have organized a rally. They have expressed agreement with Podkrepa's appeal and at the same time they have adopted a cable with which they greet the resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP for the holding of a constructive dialogue. To the appeal of Podkrepa, continued Georgi Grigorov, responded 20 students of the Faculty in History of Sofia University. They stood against the existing curriculum and insisted on the elimination of the exam on political economy. Four teachers of Secondary School No. 30 also went on strike. Fifteen doctors of the Institute for Urgent Medical Aid and 8-9 doctors and nurses of three other hospitals have striked symbolically. About 300 students of the Medical Academy have organized a rally of solidarity with the "Podkrepa" Federation.

The Sofia City Committee of the BCP, said Georgi Grigorov, once again expresses its will for dialogue with all political forces, Podkrepa included. It sees very well the rational and constructive elements in certain actions of the federation related to the concrete assistance to working collectives.

BCP CC To Talk With Independence Forces

AU2712193889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Statement by Professor Ivan Angelov, spokesman of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party—date and place not given]

[Text] The Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee notes with satisfaction that an agreement, in principle, has been reached with the Union of Democratic Forces for holding roundtable consultations. Agreement has also been reached on holding preliminary talks on 2 or 3 January 1990 with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces to settle the procedural matters connected with holding the roundtable.

Consultations are continuing with the leaderships of the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions, the Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Bulgarian Women's Committee, and other public organizations and movements in the country in order to settle all issues connected with holding roundtable meetings with representatives of these organizations.

'Pros and Cons' of Strikes Discussed on TV

AU2712233289 Sofia BTA in English 2119 GMT 27 Dec 89

["The Strike: Pros and Cons"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—"I stand absolutely against strikes," "strikes should be banned in Bulgaria" and "I strike to show that reforms are being delayed"—these are statements aired on Bulgarian Television this evening. The occasion for these statements was the two-hour warning strike declared by the Independent Federation of Labour "Podkrepa" with the aim to provoke faster carrying out of reforms in Bulgaria.

"I stand against the strike but I am not against the struggle of the democratic forces. I object to their characterization as "reactionary" because it is they that stand for the removal of the command-administrative system. I won't strike in support of "Support" (i.e. "Podkrepa" in English) [as received], said a worker in the sphere of trade from Sofia.

A leader of a group of members of "Podkrepa" objected to the general strike, which was cancelled later. He stood against the leadership of the federation, which has spoken on behalf of all its members.

A number of those interviewed agreed in principle with the need of struggle for democracy but rejected the strike as a way for the struggle and stood for negotiations, "a round table" with the authorities.

Two surgeons stood for symbolic strikes. "We won't leave our patients. But as still there has not been done anything serious in this country, there are no considerable changes, we are on strike. The strikes are not extremism. We will use them if we cannot achieve democracy in some other way.

Several statements contained the expression "It is not now the time for strikes," with the explanation that even without strikes the economic situation in this country is bad.

A statement by economist Ventseslav Dimitrov was aired who said that Bulgaria's foreign debt and the economic crisis are not the result of strikes, neither are they the result only of the actions of Todor Zhivkov. The foreign debt, the inflation, the low living standard, the deficit are due to the "apparatus system for total management of the economy." From this point of view, he said, the demands of "Podkrepa" for change of the government apparatus are well grounded.

According to the economist one should not speculate with the consequences of a warning strike. Only a continuous wave of strikes in the whole country could worsen the situation.

Ventseslav Dimitrov said that in his opinion the way out is in a reform toward a market economy, reform of property, the tax system. He thinks that a spacing out of the foreign debt is necessary. We need a two-three years pause, he said. The economist proposed the foundation of a commission for economic reforms, which should start working immediately.

Official, Independent Union Leaders To Debate

AU2812102589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] We have just received the following announcement:

The Bulgarian Television has invited Professor Dr Krystyu Petkov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Dr Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the "Podkrepa" Labor Federation, to conduct an open discussion, which will take place today, 28 December at 2200 in the first program of the Bulgarian Television. Prof Petkov and Dr Trenchev have accepted the invitation.

Official, Unofficial Unions Hold Discussion

AU2712213989 Sofia BTA in English 2020 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Trade Unions Argue With Trade Unions"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—The will for free and democratic dialogue on topical trade union problems was the occasion for today's discussion at Sofia University. It was the first of a number of meetings and talks organized by the BULGARIYA magazine.

Among the participants in the meeting were Prof Krustyu Petkov, the newly elected chairman of the CC [Central Council] of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and Dr Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Independent Federation of Labour Podkrepa. They expressed an opinion that the chief condition for real radical and democratic changes is the open and equal-rights trade union dialogue. Only in this way can be clarified the positions on questions of mutual interest.

They spoke of the strike declared for tomorrow:

Prof Krustyu Petkov: "The Bulgarian trade unions are of the opinion that the carrying out of a general strike would paralyse the national economy and that is why they call on the working people to remain at their work places. We also insist not to delay the 'round table' with the leading bodies on the chief issues of restructuring in this country. We will take active part in these meetings so that the voice of the Bulgarian trade unions be also heard."

Dr Konstantin Trenchev: "Today at its meeting the Federative Council decided as a token of good will and a constructive approach to call on its members and sympathizers for a two-hour symbolic strike instead of the preliminary proclaimed whole-day strike. We hope that this positive step of the official authorities for the holding of a 'round table' on the urgent political and economic problems of this country with representatives of the democratic opposition represented by the Union of Democratic Forces, will be followed by other decisive steps toward real democracy and pluralism."

Party Daily Calls for 'National Concord'

AU2712180489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "National Concord and Common Sense"]

[Text] Different roads lead to democratization and humanism. All peoples seek and find the particular road that either appeals to them or is inevitable for them.

These days we are following with pain and horror the bloodbath that Nicolae Ceausescu's clan arranged for the Romanian people. History will categorically and unambiguously condemn the incredible cruelty of the Ceausescu dynasty, which during its death agonies plunged innocent people into rivers of blood, causing new sufferings and earning itself the hatred of the whole of mankind.

This is one of the ways to achieve democratization and a humane society, and look at the price that the population of fraternal Romania had to pay in order to shake off a tyranny and set off along a new path.

During these days, at a time when our people are expressing their unconditional support for our suffering Romanian brothers, when they are every moment wishing that the end would come to the senseless bacchanalia, and when they are already offering real help to the suffering Romanians, a declaration appeared that fills us with amazement. The declaration of the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation was published in yesterday's issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO and formed the subject of a declaration made by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], also published yesterday.

And so, the program of "Podkrepa" is set out. During days and hours when we all feel the need for national agreement, consolidation, tolerance, and a search for mutually acceptable agreements, the leaders of the federation issue a call for disunity; not an appeal to unite efforts in the name of our fatherland's prosperity and well-being, in the name of preserving calm and peace in our land, but a call for confrontation. Yesterday, views were even expressed that the declaration of the BCP Central Committee was made in a sharp and plain-speaking tone. Yet surely it must be clear that the reassuring words with which Konstantin Trenchev commented on the reading of "Podkrepa's" declaration on television were at variance with the confrontational demands of this document? What else can the demand for day-and-night vigilance, rallies, and demonstrations lead to than an escalation of tension and a possible overstepping of the permissible limit for disputes and arguments? What else can the demand for a warning and a general strike lead to, apart from a paralyzing of life and a further deterioration of the country's economy?

The "Podkrepa" declaration actually calls for a destabilization of the existing structures, a paralyzing of the efforts for restructuring. We ask ourselves, under such

conditions, can we resolve the country's general economic problems, can we concentrate our efforts on creative work? The state needs international support, but support of this kind is only given to a serious and stable partner.

The time in which we live is an exceptional one, and everyone who cherishes his native land, who wants it to succeed, and wants the people to live better, must weigh every one of his words and actions with exceptional responsibility. Even inaccurate and unconsidered slogans may cost us very dear, and lead to terrible consequences.

It is precisely at times like these that we should remind ourselves of the tragedy from which the November plenum of the BCP Central Committee saved us, and of the possible path of our development from which the BCP delivered us by its decisions and by expressing the desires and aspirations of all the country's progressive forces. We say this because the "Romanian" version, the harsh tragedy of the Romanian people, could also be visited upon us. Is there anyone who is not aware of the verge of the catastrophe that we have reached?

We all want to speed up the processes of revolutionary renewal. However, we should all realize that this should be done in conditions of normal dialogue, tolerance, and mutual respect, bearing in mind the requirement of national concord. No one should attempt to dictate and impose his will—this is an elementary requirement for political interrelationships.

Today reason and realism must prevail. Today no one should complicate or heat up the atmosphere. This applies with redoubled force to those who stand at the head of the party, social groups, associations, and clubs, because the leaders have the sacred obligation to be intelligent, wise, and calm.

This is especially important today.

It is upon this that our present and future both depend to a very large extent.

Democratic Forces' Union Declaration Released

AU2712212889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Here is the text of a declaration of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces that was received a short while ago:

On 19 December 1989, the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria discussed at a regular session the question of conducting a dialogue between the representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces and the official authorities. The following viewpoint was expressed:

The dialogue should not be confined to unofficial contacts, consultations, or exchanges of views, but a roundtable meeting should be convened, at which talks should be conducted on an equal-rights basis between the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces and the official authorities on the most urgent and immediate questions concerning the internal state of the country.

The negotiations should be conducted openly, with full publicity announcing the names of the participants on both sides, the questions to be discussed, and the initial stances of the negotiating parties.

The first meeting should be devoted to settling matters of procedure: the venue for the talks, the agenda, the procedure for the meeting, and the composition of the participant groups.

The roundtable should end with the adoption of a document that will constitute a commitment for the parties.

The Union of Democratic Forces hopes that understanding will be shown on the part of the official authorities, and that the necessary steps will be taken in the very near future to make a start on a true, equal, and open dialogue.

If not, the official authorities will bear the entire responsibility for deepening the crisis and for the events that might arise from the accumulated social tensions, the declaration of the Coordinating Committee of the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria states in conclusion.

Provincial Rallies, Events on 24 Dec Noted

AU2712164389

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 25 December on page 2 publishes, under the heading "Topical Chronicle—24 December," short reports from seven local correspondents and one BTA report totaling 1,200 words on events in the provinces on 24 December, some of which demonstrated support for the party line for dialogue and national unity.

Correspondent Ninko Gruev reports in a 150-word dispatch on a chemical plant workers' rally in Vidin that adopted a telegram to the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] stating that "the Vidin chemical workers support reasonable and mutual dialogue with all social forces that stand for renewal in the name of socialism."

Local correspondent Tsanko Raychev gives a 120-word report on a "rally of many thousands of party veterans, active fighters against fascism, public figures, and intellectuals" in the town of Aytos, northern Bulgaria, which "expressed support for our country's socialist and democratic development." The rally also "voiced demands-...for a just solution of nationality (natsionalnite) and religious problems." Raychev concludes that "the rally was a worthy response to the declaration of the 'Podkrepa' Independent Trade Union."

In Nedyalka Filipova's 150-word report from Stara Zagora, she describes a gathering of "a thousand young people from throughout the country in the central Georgi Dimitrov

Boulevard," at which "young singers from different folklore regions performed Christmas carols." Filipova says that traditional seasonal games were arranged for all in the park, and "in the evening the Christmas program ended with a traditional folk-dance session."

In contrast, in his 200-word dispatch from an unidentified town in Plovdiv Oblast, oblast correspondent Stefan Severin describes a rally "organized by the independent associations," at which speakers read the two declarations by the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation and the BCP Central Committee. Severin reports: "Some speakers stressed that now only part of the Central Committee is fighting for restructuring, but most have a conservative frame of mind." According to the report, after the rally the participants "marched along the main street, chanting 'Podkrepa' and 'Democracy.' At the municipal town hall, the demonstrators called upon the council members to resign." At the Bulgarian Radio and Television Center "they insisted that Bulgarian Television should announce their solidarity with the 'Podkrepa' declaration."

Finally, a 150-word BTA report states that on 24 December "the situation at the border control posts on both sides of the Bridge of Friendship near Ruse was once again calm, as was the situation in the neighboring Romanian town of Giurgiu. The report mentions an assurance given by "a Romanian Army officer" that "the Giurgiu Chemical Combine is under absolutely secure guard, and it is impossible for hostile elements to enter it."

Trade Union Plenum Elects Petkov New Leader

AU2612191989 Sofia BTA in English
1837 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—The Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions held a plenum today at which it dismissed the incumbent leadership, elected a new president and voted in favour of a special congress of the organization.

The outgoing president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, Mr Petur Dyulgerov, rejected the accusations of "desertion" by which some participants tried to motivate their argument that only "partial changes of leadership" were needed in order to retain the stability of the trade union movement in the critical situation in the country.

The plenum elected Prof. Krustyo Petkov, a 46-year-old economist and sociologist, until now director of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology, as new president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Prof. Petkov said that without turning into a political organization, the Bulgarian Trade Unions should not "keep out" of the power struggle but should rather seek representation in the National Assembly. The Trade Unions should seek a fair distribution of the crisis burden and a solution of ecological problems in the best interests of the workforces. They should take a stand on Bulgaria's new ethnosocial policy which will be made public in the near future.

It was moved to convene a special congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions at an early date.

Democratic Union Wants 'Dialogue'

AU2012155489 Sofia BTA in English
1523 GMT 20 Dec 89

["Democratic Union Urges for Dialogue With Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces hopes that the government will be understanding and will start a really equal and open dialogue in the nearest future, the union said in a declaration. The document says that failing this, "the full responsibility for the aggravation of the crisis and for events which might arise from the built-up social tension will rest with the government."

At its meeting yesterday the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces called for round-table talks between the union's Coordinating Council and the government on the most pressing problems concerning the present state of the country. The first meeting should settle procedural matters: venue, agenda and negotiators' teams. The round-table discussion should produce an agreement binding on the parties. The negotiations should be held openly, the declaration said.

Top BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] officials have recently declared themselves in favour of dialogue with the public forces, without committing themselves to a specific timing and form of the dialogue.

The Union of Democratic Forces is an umbrella organisation of independent associations and groups.

Chief Mufti Blames System for Ethnic Problems

AU2612205389 Sofia BTA in English
2028 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—In a televised statement aired this evening Mr Nedyu Gendzhev, Chief Mufti of the Muslim community in Bulgaria, blamed the totalitarian regime and the command-and-administer system for the rift in Bulgarian society. "The different religions and communities are not to blame for it," he emphasized.

He declared his support for Bulgaria's new leadership headed by Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, which, in his view, has showed consideration for these problems and a desire to solve them for the sake of rallying the people.

Assessing in positive terms the changes in this country over the last month and saying that he realized that the

command-and- administered system cannot be eliminated in a month or two, Mr Gendzhev raised some problems concerning the Muslim community: the training of clergymen and the opening of a Muslim Theological School, a press publication at least monthly of the Chief Mufti's Office, the printing of Islamic religious literature and the need to amend the Religious Faiths Act.

Mr Nedyu Gendzhev called on his co-religionists as free and equal members of society to take an active part in the restructuring of this society and in turning it into a democratic state of social justice, committed to the rule of law.

Politburo Proposes No Villas, Cars for Leaders

AU2712225489 Sofia BTA in English 2141 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] proposed today to the government to stop providing villas, property of the state, to members of the party and state leadership and to adopt the respective decision for most efficient use of these villas with the view of the public interests. The statement, made by the spokesman of the CC of the BCP Ivan Angelov, proposes also to reduce radically the number of personal official cars used by state and economic leaders.

Representative cars should be used only by the president of the State Council, the chairman of the National Assembly, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the first vice president of the State Council. On this basis, the number of cars of Western makes, used by different leaders, should be radically reduced.

The deputy ministers and the economic leaders should use official cars of a common garage or personal cars without a driver.

Some of the released personal cars should be given to garages for common use only for business needs under strict control. The rest of these cars should be rented or sold to citizens under the existing regulations.

It is recommended to the regional and municipal committees of the BCP in coordination with the Central Committee to adopt resolutions before January 5, 1990, for limitation of the use of official cars by the local bodies of the party. It is proposed to the Council of Ministers to adopt a respective decision before January 5 concerning the regional and municipal councils.

Personnel Changes Made at BCP Sofia Plenum

AU2812095789 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 26 Dec pp 1, 2

[Irina Angelova report: "According to Duty, But Also According to Conscience"]

[Excerpts] Public practice in our country in the last month and a half imposed the frequent use of the adjective "unusual." We could also apply it to the fourth plenum of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] during that period. However, we must add: unusual, but not unexpected. [passage omitted]

With a view to renewing the leadership, the plenum decided to relieve Mincho Chuntov (4 votes against and 3 abstentions) and Stayko Stoyanov (5 votes against and 4 abstentions) of their posts as secretaries and members of the bureau. In connection with the need to really separate the functions of the party and other organs of the BCP City Committee, it was decided in principle to no longer elect the commander of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal affairs as a member of the bureau, and relieved Nikola Malinchev of the post member of the bureau. [passage omitted]

The BCP City Committee elected as its members Stoyan Savov, Dimitur Karamfilov, and Boris Tsvetkov. The previous candidate members of the committee, Vidko Videnov, Plamen Zhivkov, and Ivan Granitski, were elected full members.

As a result of a secret vote (114 voters, 102 valid votes), the following were elected secretaries of the BCP Sofia City Committee: Stoyan Savov, (70 votes "for," 32 "against"); Ivan Granitski (60 votes "for," 41 "against"); and Stefan Zlatev (61 votes "for," and 41 "against"). [passage omitted]

Boris Tsvetkov and Kiril Zarev were elected members of the bureau. [passage omitted]

Social-Democratic Party Founded in Ruse

AU2612163189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] An organization of the Bulgarian Workers Social-Democratic (United) Party and a youth section—Union of Socialist Youth—have been founded in Ruse.

Mladenov, BZNS Leadership Stress Cooperation

AU2612071789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] On 25 December, a meeting took place between Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]. Andrey Lukanov and Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretaries, and Viktor Vulkov and Svetla Daskalova, secretaries of the BZNS Standing Committee, also took part in the talks.

The participants assessed the development of the socio-political situation in the country and the two parties' actions aimed at democratizing political life and asserting political pluralism. It was pointed out that the changes that have begun have received the support of all strata of the Bulgarian people, something which guarantees their consolidation and irreversible character.

The two leaderships are convinced that relations and cooperation between the BCP and the BZNS have exceptional importance for the success of restructuring in Bulgaria. In this context they are determined to construct a new type of relations between them, based on equal partnership, mutual respect, and consideration for the interests. Denouncing the deformations produced by the totalitarian regime, the BCP and the BZNS will construct their relations in the future on the basis of their rich and positive traditions of their long-lasting cooperation and mutual struggle for democracy and social progress in Bulgaria.

Certain specific issues related to the preparations for the forthcoming National Assembly session were discussed. In this context special attention was devoted to the issue of restoring the Bulgarian village and stimulating agricultural production.

At the present decisive stage in developing the processes of democratization and renewal, the two parties adhere to active and businesslike contacts at all levels with the view to deepening and enriching their cooperation in the name of the Bulgarian people's prosperity.

Cooperative Union Leaders Resign

AU2212100089 Sofia BTA in English 2132 GMT 21 Dec 89

["Nonconfidence for Cooperative Leaders"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—Cooperative democracy has been repressed for many years, the Law for the Cooperatives has not been respected, was pointed out at the extraordinary session of the Administrative Council of the Central Cooperative Union which was convened at the initiative of one-third of its members. The Administrative Council requested and received the resignation of its Chairman Ivan Pekhlivanov and other leaders.

The Administrative Council decided to convene the 10th Congress of the Union on March 9 and 10.

New Chiefs for Literary Periodicals Chosen

AU2012150289 Sofia BTA in English 1404 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—At a meeting of the Governing Board of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, Mr Marko Ganchev, a satirist writer, was elected editor-in-chief of the LITERATUREN FRONT, the union's weekly newspaper.

Mr Nikola Indzhov was relieved of his responsibilities as editor-in-chief. The participants who took the floor stressed the need for the newspaper to become a platform for the writers' civic stand. "Only a resolute renewal can win back the paper's readership and can give it a durable presence on our literary scene," it was pointed out at the meeting.

Mr Nikola Indzhov was appointed editor-in-chief last spring after the Writers' Union Congress, which was held in a democratic spirit. Mr Marko Ganchev is actually the first editor-in-chief of that newspaper to be democratically elected by the union's Governing Board.

At the same meeting Mr Gercho Atanasov was elected director of the Bulgarski Pisatel Publishing House and Prof Toncho Zhechev, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, was elected editor-in-chief of SEPTEMVRI, a monthly literary journal. He succeeds in this post Mr Vladimir Golev, a poet and an instructor at the Ideological Policy Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The Governing Board expelled from the Writers' Union Prof Mikhail Vasilev, a literary critic who was exposed as a plagiarist earlier this year.

Labor Official Suggests Raising Minimum Wage

AU2012155789

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 19 December on page 1 publishes a 1,200-word article by Mariya Vasileva, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions [CCBTU), entitled "Social Justice." Vasileva puts forward the arguments of the CCBTU Secretariat for gradual annual increases in minimum wages and pensions, pointing out that "the negative trends in the development of the economy have particularly severely affected the entire population's living standard," so that the more poorly paid have suffered greatly. The Secretariat, states Vasileva, wants the minimum monthly wage in Bulgaria to be raised "at least to 165 leva," and the minimum pension to be increased to "at least three-quarters of the minimum working wage." These demands, notes Vasileva, will be put forward by the trade unions at the forthcoming talks with the representatives of the Council of Ministers.

Daily Notes Zhivkov Family Investigation

AU2012131689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Report: "Information, Not Interpretation"]

[Text] With regard to the item published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 17 December, on 18 December the Main Investigation Administration announced that it will release to the mass media "all documents and materials held by the investigating organs on the case." In actual fact, no documents or materials were presented at the meeting organized with the journalists. The latter only received rehashed information on the investigation that had been stopped (in the form of a summary note), and even this version represented the interpretation of the investigating organs that had been working on the case.

A number of questions arise: RABOTNICHESKO DELO has not asked to receive the materials on the halted case, and does not consider that it is entitled to do so. We only issued a warning that the investigation had been halted wrongly and not in accordance with the law. At the same time, one may ask oneself with good reason whether the Main Investigation Administration considers that it is normal and lawful to present "documents and materials" to journalists when a case investigation is in progress? Surely, this will hinder the investigation.

We are sorry to say that our published report raised quite different questions, and the answer to these questions is contained in today's announcement by the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, namely that the case is being reopened. The rest is a matter for the competent organs to deal with.

Revelations About Chernobyl Aftermath Noted

AU1912114889 Sofia BTA in English 0933 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—Air in Bulgaria was contaminated more than 10,000 times the normal levels between April 30 and May 2, 1986 (after the Chernobyl disaster). Between May 2 and May 7 the concentration of hot particles exceeded one-thousand fold the usual level. In May 1987 Bulgaria had the world's highest content of Cesium 137 in food and of Iodine 131 in humans' thyroid glands.

These are some of the alarming facts on the effects of the Chernobyl accident disclosed in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The paper reports that the competent authorities ignored the researchers' findings and their recommendations to take urgent action and witheld part of the truth from the public.

The author writes that if it had not been for the comparatively favorable atmospheric conditions, Bulgaria would have been exposed to a ten-fold higher radioactive contamination.

Writers Criticize Coverage of 14 Dec Rally

AU1912144489 Sofia BTA in English 1519 GMT 19 Dec 89

["Old Thinking Resurgences Should Not Be Admitted"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—Resurgences of old thinking should not be admitted, appeals the declaration of the Independent Society of Bulgarian Writers published in today's ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. It is on the occasion of the mass media coverage of the rally held on December 14 in Sofia at the time of the 8-hour session of the National Assembly that day.

The writers stand against the use of the word "extremist" in the press coverage of the rally. The word "extremism," in our opinion, has not been used by chance, one can see the image of the enemy cultivated during the Stalinist times behind it. That really disturbs us and we protest against such manipulations, reads the declaration.

It also expresses a protest against certain words used in the declaration of the National Assembly in connection with the rally: "interested persons," "disunity," "destabilization," "decisive rebuff"—all of them also resurgences of Stalinism according to the Independent Society of Bulgarian Writers.

In conclusion the declaration stresses that the Independent Society of Bulgarian Writers will continue to fight actively for democracy, for non-violence and pluralism in Bulgarian society.

Scientist Offers Way Out of Economic Crisis

AU1812175289 Sofia BTA in English 1232 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA)—Implementing active social policy whose core should be the stabilization of the home market, the acceleration of housing construction and support of the socially weak layers of the population; stabilizing the currency balance and ceasing the growing of the convertible currency debt; financial healing of economy, these should, according to economist Dr. Ivan Angelov, be the priorities in economy during the next few years. In an article for the weekly POGLED the scientist views the ways for going out of the economic crisis.

In his opinion the economic reform must be a comprehensive one including all aspects of economic relations, organizational forms for carrying out of economic activity and the role of the state in economy.

The reform should focus on the democratization of the property and management relations, writes Ivan Angelov. The variety of the forms of property should be broadened and the state property must also become more democratic and less bureaucratic i.e., to take it from the red tape apparatus. He points out the need of development of leasing in all spheres and branches of activity, the need of urgent measures for democratization of agriculture.

Ivan Angelov stands for an overall reform of prices and for turning to market prices in the course of several years. The financial healing of the economy according to him needs the adoption of hard-line policy concerning the limitation of the budget expenses—the 1990 budget should reduce considerably the budget subsidies, the budget financing of political parties and public organizations should be stopped; the National Assembly should adopt separately its own budget, should approve the expenses for the state and the ministerial councils, for all ministries and department, it should also determine the wages of their leaders; gradually to reduce the

average percentage of the profits taking of the companies; when necessary to make a long-term state contractual credits with attractive interest rate; to introduce order in the emission policy.

Ivan Angelov offers, as early as next year, to finish the construction of the bank system at two levels—Bulgarian National Bank, subjected to the National Assembly, and trade banks. As an important condition for the healing of the economy he points out the nonadmission of the increase of the mass of money without the necessary commodity cover. The improvement of the foreign economic activity should be on the road diversification of the foreign trade exchange and increasing of the share of non-socialist states. [sentence as received]

According to the scientist as early as 1990 steps must be undertaken for the creation of modern market conditions in the Bulgarian economy. An overall anti-inflation program and an end to the ruining constant reorganizations are also necessary. [sentence as received]

Dzhurov Speech to National Assembly

AU2012131989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 89 p 3

[Speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, at the National Assembly session in Sofia on 15 December]

[Text] I would like to inform the National Assembly with regard to one of the items in the resolution adopted at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] on 13 December 1989. I quote:

"By maintaining a reliable defensive capability and observing its commitments to its allies, the People's Republic of Bulgaria should make an adequate contribution to disarmament. As a direct step, the plenum proposes that at the forthcoming session of the National Assembly the government should announce the budget expenditures on defense and the strength and armaments of the Bulgarian People's Army."

In taking the floor, I would like to make one reservation: Today I have no intention of making an analytical report on the state of the Armed Forces, in particular on the Bulgarian People's Army and the prospects for its development. Naturally, these matters will be determined after taking into account the effects of all factors, both internal and external, on the basis of the fundamental effects of the new political thinking and the strategy for the renewal of socialist society.

I am fully aware that the intensifying dialogue between East and West and the progress achieved at the Vienna talks on reducing conventional armed forces and on confidence- and security-building measures create a qualitatively new social and historical environment for the future solving of the tasks relating to defense construction.

This exceptionally important, and at the same time dynamically developing, group of problems requires special examination. We are working on these problems and will continue to do so.

In this speech I would like to cover three issues.

Bearing in mind the resolution of the recent BCP Central Committee plenum, which plainly stated the desire of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to continue in the future to make its own contribution to strengthening peace and international security, the government has authorized me to announce certain data about the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

First. On the budget expenditures on defense.

The maintenance of the Army ("Wages" fund, communal and everyday services, equipment, machinery, and installations, spare parts, and so on) is costing 899 million leva this year.

This year 6 million leva have been provided for scientific research and development work.

This year 640 million leva have been spent on purchasing domestically manufactured and imported armaments and equipment.

The construction program amounts to 60 million leva.

As can be seen, the total expenditure on the Army in 1989 amounts to 1,605 million leva.

Are these expenditures on the Bulgarian People's Army large? Can they be reduced?

On the basis of the information that I will give you, let each one of you give his own answer.

Turkey's military budget this year amounts to $2.4 billion, while **Greece's** is $2.24 billion. In addition, both countries receive aid both from the United States (**Turkey** receives over $500 million, and **Greece** over $350 million) and from the FRG (over $140 million for **Turkey** and over $75 million for Greece).

Second. On the composition of the Bulgarian People's Army. On 1 January 1989 the Army's strength was 117,500 men. By decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, this was cut by 10,000 men, so that the present strength of the Bulgarian People's Army is 107,000 men.

In accordance with the above decision, we made cuts of 20 aircraft, 200 tanks, 200 guns and mortars, and 5 naval units, so that on 1 October 1989 the Bulgarian People's Army had the following armaments at its disposal:

—204 combat aircraft;

—51 combat helicopters;

—72 tactical missile launchers;

—2,000 tanks;

—2,365 infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers;

—3,790 75-mm multiple rocket launchers; and

—105 fighting ships, including 3 submarines.

At this point we must compare this data with the figures for **Turkey and Greece.**

Turkey maintains the largest army in Europe, with a strength of 650,000 men. More than one-half of this army is stationed in the region of the Straits and in eastern Thrace, i.e. not far from our country.

The strength of the **Greek** Armed Forces is 190,000 men.

The quantities of basic armaments held by these two armies exceeds by several times those at the disposal of the Bulgarian People's Army.

I believe that these figures are sufficient for every Bulgarian citizen to obtain a clear conception of our country's strategic situation and of the great responsibility resting on the Bulgarian People's Army to guarantee our country's national interests and armed defense.

In announcing this information, I want to explicitly emphasize that we see no enemy of ours in any of the neighboring countries or peoples. The People's Republic of Bulgaria stands for good-neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation, and is ready to make an adequate contribution to disarmament.

Third. On the place of our Armed Forces in society and the state. It is my view that the functions and tasks of the Armed Forces should be juridically firmly established in a special **law on the defense of the country.** This law should define the following: the system of leadership and the whole of defense construction; the obligations of the state, economic, and other organs and organizations in relation to national defense; the economic foundations for defense; the basic premises connected with building up and training the Armed Forces; the system for guaranteeing state security and public order, including the structure and tasks of the Civil Defense; the rights and obligations of the citizens, and so on. An important part of the law should be devoted to the issue of bringing the country and the Armed Forces from a state of peace into a state of war.

The law, in our opinion, should be prepared and submitted to the National Assembly for its consideration after the changes in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have been adopted, and it should fully conform to the latter and to the national defensive military doctrine.

The law should also, undoubtedly, reflect our international obligations, stemming from our participation in the Warsaw Pact organization.

The preparation of this law is a complex and difficult task that involves extensive research work. In addition to the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs, those taking part in the preparation of the draft law should include political and state figures, representatives of the sociopolitical organizations, eminent Bulgarian lawyers, economists, philosophers, sociologists, representatives of the artistic and creative intelligentsia, and so forth.

An important role in this work should be played by the leadership of the National Assembly and the permanent commission on defense and security, the proposal on the creation of which, I have no doubt, will be approved. All the other National Assembly deputies should also be given an opportunity to make their contribution in preparing the draft law.

The soldiers are aware that we are living in a time of profound, truly revolutionary changes, changes that affect all spheres of our national life. These changes are drawing literally all social groups, the entire nation, into the whirlpool of political life. The road that we have already traveled along is being reassessed, a strict assessment is being made of what has been achieved, and solutions are being sought and marked out for overcoming the serious problems of our development that have acquired a distressing character.

The recent BCP Central Committee plenum was also devoted to this aim. We have every reason to consider that both the Politburo report delivered by Comrade Petur Mladenov and the plenum resolution, as well as the well-argued critical and self-critical conclusions and evaluations on the state of the country, clearly and in sufficient depth disclose the essence of the party's new strategic course for eliminating all the components of the Stalinist model of socialism and constructing a democratic, law-governed socialist state.

The changes, so fateful for our country's future, that are being carried out from 10 November until the present find a most lively response in the ranks of the Army. Distress and indignation at the distortions in the past are also felt, as well as alarm concerning the serious state of the economy, the country's finances, and the social and intellectual sphere. However, the chief thing is the complete approval and support of the BCP's and the country's new strategic course, and the firm belief that this is the road along which true people's power will be established in the country, and a qualitatively new image will be given to socialism.

Dissident Wagenstein Examines Changes

AU1812103189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Dec 89 p 4

[Maren Koester-Hetzendorf report on interview with dissident Angel Wagenstein; date and place not given—"The Apparatus Has Not Been Scratched at All"]

[Text] Sofia—"The Bulgarian Communist Party has long been going through a process of internal splitting," Angel

Wagenstein, Bulgarian film director, convinced communist, and energetic dissident, says. In his view, there are two groups within the party: One group joined from the very beginning in the "crimes" that are known today. The other one reacted very "painfully" to the loss of the ideals for which they fought in the resistance in World War II: "A free society, justice, people's power."

The most powerful first group around Zhivkov has always reacted harshly to criticism by the intelligentsia. Many people were expelled from the party or were "totally isolated" in their professions and in society. "At that time I left the country and lived in the GDR for many years." Former espionage chief and perestroyka follower Markus Wolf is one of his "very, very good friends." In his house, Wagenstein recounts, the idea for the first mass demonstration of the opposition groups in Bulgaria in Sofia on 18 November was born.

Before Zhivkov's ouster Wagenstein was in East Berlin. There he received the message from Sofia that there were very "evil" rumors. It was said that the party's conservatives wanted to strike a blow to the reform forces in the party at the Central Committee plenum on 10 November. "The situation was balanced on a razor's edge."

A few days before 10 November in a letter to the Central Committee, then-Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov had declared his resignation in protest against Zhivkov's regime. The "very courageous" message was a reckoning with Zhivkov and his totalitarian regime. Mladenov wrote the letter to the Central Committee before an official trip to the PRC and the Soviet Union. While he was abroad, the struggle for power in Sofia escalated. According to Wagenstein, Andrey Lukanov, Maldenov's confidant and then-minister of foreign economic relations, and Defense Minister Dobri Dzhurov pulled the wires in Sofia. Wagenstein knows that Mladenov was not sure of victory until the last moment. From Moscow, where Mladenov had met with his former fellow student Gorbachev, the foreign minister called Lukanov on Sofia: If he (Mladenov) does not call Lukanov within 2 hours after his return on 9 November, the Soviet Embassy should be notified immediately. Wagenstein knows that Lukanov is, like Mladenov, a former fellow student and personal friend of Gorbachev.

Wagenstein assumes that the reason why Zhivkov's ouster took place without bloodshed is the fact that General Dzhurov and the entire army are on the side of the reformers.

One day after Zhivkov's ouster, there was a gathering in Wagenstein's apartment in Sofia on 11 November. An initiative committee was founded, which organized the demonstration on 18 November. Wagenstein is certain that the collapse in the GDR was the thing that made the upheaval in Bulgaria possible. "We were a strong troika: the GDR, Bulgaria, Romania. There was stagnation toward the outside, a sleepy society. And then suddenly a piece broke off."

"Have You Read PRAVDA Today?"

Under the sleepy surface there has long been strong tension in Bulgaria, Wagenstein says. Soviet perestroyka has strongly influenced the Bulgarian intelligentsia. "There is no other country where one reads and speaks so much Russian. Already early in the morning one gets telephone calls: 'Have you read PRAVDA today?'"

In the meantime, the leadership had hidden beneath a "perestroyka mimicry" and wanted to, thus, further expand the dictatorship. "This was different from in the GDR and in Romania, where Honecker and Ceausescu openly spoke up against perestroyka. We had these slogans: Long live Gorbachev; we want to further advance glasnost; long live perestroyka. But there was nothing behind it."

How are things going to proceed now? Wagenstein: "Todor Zhivkov's mafia has been deprived of its power. However, I do not know whether the apparatus will also be deprived of its power. We must not be satisfied until the entire repressive machinery is dismantled and scrapped."

The warning also applies to new state and party chief Petur Mladenov. Because he is inexperienced, the apparatus will try to lull him to sleep with beautiful praise so as to then take hold of him with an iron grip. "The apparatus has not been scratched at all." According to Wagenstein, the same people who hailed Zhivkov in the past are still in the Central Committee. "They are conformists." They should be replaced; the same goes for the delegates of the district, city, and village committees of the party. "Otherwise there is no perestroyka." Wagenstein hopes that there will be "radical" personnel changes at the party congress on 19 March 1990.

The party must also get rid of democratic centralism and open up toward innerparty democracy, for instance, permit the formation of party groups. However, it cannot be ruled out that the opponents of reform gather in the party and oppose the process of democratization by hiding behind the mask of perestroyka. Wagenstein fears organized provocations, for instance in the form of allegedly spontaneous rallies, where, like in Sofia last Saturday [9 December] violence is demanded under the slogan "death to the communists." "We need a new traffic sign: Beware provocateurs!"

The new parliament, which will be elected next year, will only have a transitional character. After all, there is not yet a new Constitution. "It is impossible to build a new society with the old Constitution. There will be a transitional period, which semi-democratic or semi-repressive forces will use to brake the development." However, Wagenstein is certain that one will not stop halfway toward democracy.

Further Reactions, Comments on Romanian Events

'Tyrant,' Regime Condemned

AU2712180189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 89 p 7

[Jan Skoda commentary from the "A Word on Events" column: "The Romanian Woke Up and the Tyrant Fell"]

[Text] Two years ago, during the unrest in Brasov, tens of thousands of Romanians sung the national song "Awake, Romanian." At that time, workers of the local automobile works and other local enterprises rose up against that fact that "on order from above" their monthly wages were reduced by, on average, from 2,500 to 700 lei, allegedly because of nonfulfillment of the plan. This was just the detonator, because living conditions have been untenable for quite some time. People were shouting "We want food; we want light!" Ceausescu, this usurper of the power, minds, and destinies of the 23 million citizens of Romania, sent in police units against them, and when even those did not succeed in coping with the unorganized, justly indignant crowd, he sent in the Army and heavy weapons against them.

I am recalling this intentionally. The events that are repeating themselves in Timisoara and elsewhere in Romania these days had to logically bring about the fall of the hated dictator. People's anger and resistance had been multiplied by the—even in the present world—unusual brutality and bloodthirstiness of some Army and, in particular, police units which stood by the "conducator," the leader Ceausescu. Blood literally flowed in the streets of Timisoara, Arad, Sibiu, and Bucharest.

Nicolae Ceausescu had set up a totalitarian, overbureaucratized regime founded on dogmatic acceptance of his subjectivist views. It functioned through the blind obedience of the party-police apparatus, which was asserting the decisions of one person—Nicolae Ceausescu—with the violent instruments of power. Every idea that cropped up in the head of this 71-year- old politician had to be revered like a "holy commandment" by everyone, and everybody had to abide by it. With his ideas, Ceausescu permeated the entire social, cultural, and personal life of the Romanian citizens; he decided their standard of living, while he and his followers—often with close family ties—lived in luxury and merrymaking.

I attended the last congress of the Romanian Communist Party recently and, after its conclusion, a meeting of the congress' delegates with the party leadership. Long tables bent under the weight of food; various kinds of meat were served to the 5,000 guests, something ordinary citizens do not even dream of, simply because there is no meat for them. Ceausescu exported foodstuffs, allegedly to be able to pay off foreign debts, but, on the other hand, he handled these as he saw fit. For example, he granted a loan to the tune of $200 million to Egypt in 1987.

Corruption, lies, and intimidation were the most characteristic signs of social life. From above came orders to unrealistically increase production; from below, again at variance with reality, came reports about production being exceeded. Whoever held a different opinion was persecuted and, as happened to many Romanians, was also jailed or interned. This was the fate of a group of six intellectuals, former ranking political representatives headed by Corneliu Manescu who, in March this year, sent to Ceausescu's leadership a letter protesting against the policy of the party and state leadership.

This society's catastrophic state affected, above all, the standard of living of the Romanian working people and their cultural and social development. That is why the popular uprising did not have to be organized. It erupted spontaneously as a revolutionary uprising of oppressed and exploited people. The Ceausescu regime had nothing in common with a socially just society, with socialism. He discredited it in the eyes of millions of Romanians and other people throughout the world. Therefore, all honest and humane people, socialists and Communists, must dissociate themselves from him.

Even though the situation still has not normalized, it is necessary to ponder the further road of Romanian society. Above all, and this is also a lesson (as of a certain time, I have not liked using this word) which we have learned in Czechoslovakia; it is necessary to prevent further violence and a return to the old conditions. A process of democratizating political conditions through the creation of a pluralist system of several parties, which would represent all social patriotic forces, is also necessary for Romania. All of us wish this to be a process without further bloodshed or human tragedies. There have already been enough of them.

Calfa Congratulates New Leaders

LD2712181189 Prague CTK in English 1724 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa sent today a congratulatory telegram to Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front, and Petre Roman, premier, on the occasion of their appointment.

He assured the two Romanian top representatives of solidarity and support of the Czechoslovak people for the victorious struggle of the Romanian nation against the Ceausescu dictatorship, for democracy and freedom. He expressed the preparedness of Czechoslovakia to grant humanitarian assistance for the restoration of the country and Czechoslovakia's sincere interest in active cooperation and expansion of bilateral relations with Romania on new democratic principles.

Socialist Party Approves

LD2712222589 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 27 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee appreciated at its session here today the heroic struggle of the Romanian people against the unbearable dictatorship of former President Nicolae Ceausescu and his clique.

The presidium voiced full support for the new government of the National Salvation Front in Romania in its effort to stabilize the situation in the country in the name of justice and democracy.

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Melantrich Publishing House have sent 50.000 crowns to Romania.

CSSR Representatives Voice Support

LD2712214389 Prague CTK in English 2026 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky and representative of the Civic Forum Ivan Gabal voiced Czechoslovakia's full support for the new Romanian leadership on Romanian Television here today.

They said that Czechoslovakia sends great material aid to Romania, medicaments, food, clothes, etc.

SFRY's Markovic on Situation in CSSR

AU1512162089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 89 p 7

[Roundup of correspondents' reports on foreign reaction to developments in Czechoslovakia: "How They Write About Us"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In Belgrade on Thursday [7 December], Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, briefly commented on the current events in Czechoslovakia. Responding to questions from RUDE PRAVO and CTK correspondents, he described the processes taking place in our country as positive. He said that what is happening today proves that the type of socialism that has existed so far has found itself in crisis. The fact is being confirmed that without the personal motivation of people it is impossible to successfully develop either the economy or democracy. The positive changes in East Europe also directly or indirectly help reform in Yugoslavia, and the same is also true the other way around. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Independent Initiative Issues Statement

LD1412173389 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Hungarian Independent Initiative issued a statement today on the composition of the new federal government, to the formation of which it actively contributed along with the Public Against Violence and Civic Forum.

Representatives of these two civic initiatives were working toward the creation of a representative body of minority nationalities on the supreme level of the state administration, that is, toward a creation of a relevant ministry in the federal government. Should the creation of a ministry for minority nationalities fall through during the last stage of the talks about the federal government due to the resistance of some political forces around the federal premier, the Hungarian Independent Initiative expresses the conviction in its statement that the rejection of this proposal does not mean a new form of the old power practices ignoring the rights of the minorities.

Mlynar Comments on Changes in IZVESTIYA

LD2712154789 Prague CTK in English 1404 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 27 (CTK correspondent)—Processes now taking place in Czechoslovakia on the one hand involve healthy and necessary democratization but on the other hand events unfold in a tense atmosphere and so incredibly fast that there is no time to create adequate democratic structures, Zdanek Mlynar, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee in 1968, has said.

In an interview he granted during his recent visit to the USSR, carried by the Soviet daily IZVESTIYA today, Mlynar did not see the cause of tension in Czechoslovakia in economic or social difficulties, in contrast to Poland or the USSR. The problem is that street demonstrations are suitable for overthrowing the regime but are insufficient for establishing a new democratic mechanism.

While comparing Prague Spring in 1968 and the present events, Mlynar said in both cases the Stalinist administrative system was the adversary. Movement from above and from below was characteristic of the Prague Spring. This time it was, on the contrary, the country's leadership that hindered maturing democratic processes in society, while the masses became the motive force of changes. In this lies the basic difference between the events of 1989 and 1968. The political situation in Czechoslovakia today resembles more the situation in Poland rather than Prague Spring in 1968.

Asked about the danger of socialism being "dismantled", Zdenek Mlynar said that "protecting socialism" is the argument used by the exponents of the old system. They may point out shortcomings of the new processes, seek to concentrate public attention to them and to call forth negative attitudes to them. Such attacks by conservative forces are typical for Soviet restructuring, he said.

The processes taking place in Eastern Europe are organically interlinked to an extent that if perestroyka in the

Soviet Union were defeated, democratic processes now taking place in countries of Central Europe could hardly continue, Zdenek Mlynar said.

Asked whether he thought it real that perestroyka in the USSR could be defeated, Mlynar recalled the current difficulties, and the tense and to some extent dangerous period of the Soviet Union's development. If no tangible positive results are achieved in a year or two, it may happen that the masses lose confidence in the policy of restructuring, they will no longer be willing to bring sacrifices and take risks for its benefit and that would be very bad, he warned.

He stressed the need for tolerance in politics. "It is necessary to get rid of the illusion that either I am in power or I have no influence whatsoever. It is necessary to begin thinking democratically, to give due rights to the minority," he said.

Soviet perestroyka is a contradictory process but the political prerequisites for controlling the process from above are better in the USSR than they had been in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, Mlynar said.

In conclusion Mlynar said he had no aspirations to assume high posts in the hierachy, and stressed that the year 1990 will be of decisive significance for the fate of reform.

Soviet Friendship Society Chief Resigns

LD0812234789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship met today in Bratislava for an extraordinary session.

It acknowledged a request by Viliam Salgovic to be released from his post as chairman of the Slovak Central Committee and assured the Secretariat that it would secure the role of the Slovak organization of the union in the present period.

In a statement on the present internal political situation, the Presidium dissociated itself from the incorrect assessment and suppression of efforts to renew and reform socialism in 1968-1969. The Presidium considers their re-assessment to be an important issue of the development of future Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

Austrian Dailies on Sale in Slovakia 14 Dec

AU2512041489 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 19 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Summary] According to Engineer Ivan Kaufman of the Slovart agency, on 14 December, Slovart began importing independent Austrian dailies KURIER and NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG—2,500 copies of each. The front pages of the dailies and reports concerning Czechoslovakia are in Slovak. The copies, which cost Kcs5, are available in Bratislava from 4 newspaper vendors as early as 0800.

Further Reportage on Opening of Austrian Border

Finance Minister Regrets Opening

AU1912103189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Dec 89 p 8

["pp"-signed report: "Koruna About to Be Devalued"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent)—At a news conference in Prague on Thursday [14 December], Engineer Vaclav Klaus, candidate of sciences, spoke not only about financial policy, but also about some views on our economy as a whole. [passage omitted]

Asked when the koruna will become convertible, he said that it will take a very long time before the koruna will be completely convertible. Nevertheless, achieving a situation in which our citizens will be able to shop with korunas, for example in Vienna, should not take longer than 2-3 years. In this connection he noted that the continuation of the huge difference between the official and unoffical rate of exchange, is impossible [to tolerate]. According to V. Klaus, the koruna must be devalued vis-a-vis the freely convertible currencies and revalued against the CEMA countries' currencies. He also drew the attention to the fact that, as of next year, the State Bank contemplates abolishing foreign currency allocations. He described the opening of the border with Austria as an unfortunate and ill-considered step, the economic consequences of which must be rapidly resolved.

The CSSR minister of finance also said that one can expect Czechoslovakia's official application to join the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the immdediate future.

Officials Cut Border Fence

LD1712163289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Czechslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier and his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock symbolically cut the border fence at the border crossing near Hevlin this afternoon. This act was not only a sign of trust between the two countries, but was also a contribution by Czechoslovakia to building a European home.

Jiri Dienstbier also announced today that from 20 December until the end of January next year Austrian citizens will, for the time being, be able to visit Czechoslovakia without visas.

Dienstbier Addresses Journalists

LD1712193289 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock met at the Czechoslovak-Austrain border between Hate, South Moravia, and Kleinhaugsdorf in Austria today.

The two ministers symbolically cut the barbed wire dividing the two countries in the area of the Hevlin border crossing, demonstrating confidence between the two countries.

At a meeting in the Austrian border town of LAA A.D. Thaya Minister Dienstbier said that visa-free travels for Austrian citizens to Czechoslovakia are valid from December 20 to the end of January 1990.

After the public meeting at LAA A.D.Thaya, Minister Dienstbier told newsmen that Czechoslovakia proposes a permanent abolition of visa requirements for travels between Czechoslovakia and Austria but to this end appropriate commissions must meet to elaborate the necessary legal aspects. Abolition of the obligatory exchange of schillings for crowns by Austrian nationals going to Czechoslovakia is being considered, the minister said.

He said Czechoslovakia wants to join as quickly as possible economic cooperation not only in Europe because it stagnated for at least 20 years while the world changed. "However, we do not want any gifts or loans for consumption but what we want is cooperation that would bring due profit from each invested crown counted in terms of foreign exchange", Jiri Dienstbier said.

Favors Privileged Relations

AU1412174489 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Report by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi]

[Excerpt] The new CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier has spoken in favor of privileged relations with Austria. He stated this during a meeting with the foreign policy spokesman of the Socialist Party of Austria, Peter Jankowitsch, in Prague today. Dienstbier's first meeting with a foreign minister from another country will take place on Sunday [17 December], when he will meet with his Austrian counterpart Mock. [passage omitted]

Bavaria's Streibl Seeks Apology for Expulsions

LD1412203289 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Bavarian Minister President Max Streibl has asked the Czechoslovak Government to apologize for having expelled Sudeten Germans. Streibl said that literally an open word of regret would be a good signal because we, too, admit Nazi injustice.

Foreign Minister Confers With French Officials

AU2512042189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 8

[CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier received Charles Pistre, vice chairman of the Foreign Commission of the French National Assembly and deputy for the Socialist Party, and Rene Andre, who is also member of the commission and deputy for the Association for the Republic, in Prague on Tuesday [19 December]; the two men are visiting the CSSR as members of the French parliamentary mission. During their talk they discussed certain topical issues of Czechoslovak-French and all-European relations.

EC To 'Concretely React' to Calfa Initiatives

AU2512045489 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 89 p 5

[CTK report: "Marian Calfas's Letter to Jacques Delors; Concrete Initiatives"]

[Excerpt] Brussels—A letter from CSSR Premier Marian Calfa was delivered to the secretariat of the president of the Commission of the European Communities [EC], Jacques Delors, in Brussels yesterday, 19 December. On that occasion, P. Lamy, head of the secretariat of the president of the EC Commission, expressed on Jacques Delors' behalf, satisfaction with the present developments in the CSSR which open a broad scope for the development of comprehensive cooperation between the EC and the CSSR.

He said further that the EC Commission is prepared to concretely react to the initiatives contained in the Czechoslovask premier's letter.

In connection with the latest bilateral agreements with some Eastern countries (Hungary, Poland, and the USSR), a press spokesman for the EC Commission said that the EC's highest executive body also will study the recent Czechoslovak request to conclude a more extensive agreement on trade and economic cooperation. [passage omitted]

Australian Foreign Minister on Official Visit

Arrives in Prague

AU2512041789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 8

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Gareth John Evans, Australian minister of foreign affairs and trade, arrived for an official visit at the invitation of the CSSR minister of foreign affairs on Tuesday [19 December].

Received by Calfa

LD2312102389 Prague CTK in English 1201 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa received here today Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commerce Gareth John Evans, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

Marian Calfa expressed the resolve of the new Czechoslovak Government to do its best for the relations with Australia to get to a new, higher level. He voiced the conviction that tens of thousands of Czechoslovak compatriots in Australia will help to create a bridge of friendship and cooperation between their old and new homeland.

Gareth John Evans expressed full support to further development of mutual relations and appreciated the culture with which Czechoslovak people are pushing through democratic changes.

The Australian minister for foreign affairs and commerce also held talks with Czechoslovak First Deputy-Premier Valtr Komarek.

Continues Talks

AU2512045289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 4

[CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Andrej Barcak, CSSR minister of foreign trade, received Gareth John Evans, Australia's minister of foreign affairs and trade, in Prague on Wednesday [20 December]. They briefed each other on the trade between the two states, which amounted to almost $120 million in 1988 and which continues to grow this year, too. A. Barcak acquainted his guest with the new conditions in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade, in view of the planned changes in our economy. The Australian minister was also received by Pavel Sadovsky, CSSR's first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and by Jozef Simuth, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

Palestinian Statement on East Europe Events

LD2712215789 Prague CTK in English 1834 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 27 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Embassy of Palestine in Czechoslovakia welcomed the development of the past few weeks in Czechoslovakia and other East European countries aimed at ensuring democracy and realizing political and economic reforms, in a statement issued here today.

The statement expressed deep regret in connection with the events in friendly Romania during which thousands of Romanian citizens have been killed, and categorically rejected the information published by some mass communication media about the alleged participation of Arab citizens in the Romanian events.

Easing of Restrictions for Visitors Planned

AU2612073989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Josef Vlcek report: "Proposals To Improve Consular Services; How Will They Travel to Our Country?"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent)—In the course of a chat with Czechoslovak journalists in Prague on Monday, 18 December, Ales Janku, head of the Consular Department of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke about a number of suggestions aimed at improving the consular services of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, about the travel of our former citizens, who live permanently abroad, to Czechoslovakia, and about other interesting matters. [passage omitted]

He said that it has been proposed to annul some of the existing restrictions concerning the journeys by all Czechoslovak citizens, including former Czechoslovak citizens who live abroad. Changes of legal rules have been recommended to the appropriate bodies, which amend issues connected with citizenship. The proposal has also been made to reduce administrative fees and to reintroduce the function of honorary consul. One counts on making use of fellow citizens in that function. [passage omitted]

At the same time he noted that everyone who visits the CSSR—be it on a Czechoslovak travel document or a passport of another country in which he lives— he will be able to leave Czechoslovakia on that document. A. Janku said that he stresses this fact because abroad there has been a constant concern, especially among our migrants and late emigrees that they could have problems once arriving in the CSSR and would not [be able to] leave.

Proposed also are other measures concerning, for example, the mandatory exchange of foreign exchange by tourists—students and pensioners—and the gradual abolishing of the mandatory exchange in general, a matter that is within the competence of the Federal Ministry of Finance. [passage omitted]

Poll on Havel, Government Popularity Reported

LD2412140789 Prague CTK in English 1014 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 24 (CTK)—A public opinion poll carried out by the Public Opinion Poll Institute of the Federal Statistical Office on December 21-22 showed that citizens of Bohemia and Moravia propose as President Vaclav Havel (73 per cent). Then Ladislav Adamec (10 per cent) and Cestmir Cisar (four per cent).

Only exceptionally those asked proposed Alexander Dubcek, Valtr Komarek or others. Six per cent did not offer any candidate.

The poll showed that the changes carried out in the government bodies have increased confidence of citizens in the government. Most citizens in the Czech Socialist Republic (57 per cent) expressed confidence in most members of the present federal government. 16 per cent expressed confidence only in a smaller part of the government and 26 per cent said it is too early for judgement.

Most asked are of an opinion that they have only limited possibilities to participate in governing the society. Only twenty per cent said they can influence the activity of the Federal Assembly. Over 60 per cent are of an opposite opinion.

Havel Discusses Future Tasks as President

AU2812124589 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 28 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Civic Forum spokesman Vaclav Havel by Jindrich Lion in Prague; date not given: "Guarantor of Free Elections, Symbol of Understanding"]

[Excerpts] DER STANDARD: You usually wear sweaters and no ties. Will the clothes required at the Castle not give you the feeling of wearing a strait-jacket?

Havel: First of all, I do wear suits sometimes. However, if people trust me they will accept me the way I am.

DER STANDARD: From your modest apartment on Engels Quay you could see Prague Castle, the residence of the Bohemian kings and Czechoslovak presidents on the other side of the Moldau river. Did you consider it conceivable in the past that you would reside there one day?

Havel: Certainly not. However, I will not reside there for long. I waged no election campaign. If my fellow citizens want to install me there as a guarantor of a fair and decent election campaign, I will gladly do my duty for the people as a symbolic figure during this time of national understanding.

DER STANDARD: So you are moving from the many prison cells that you have inhabited in the past to Prague Castle....

Havel: Yes, but only temporarily, as I have already stated, until elections are held next year. I consider it my task to guarantee democratic elections, and to ensure that the wishes and desires of the people for a life of decency and equality before the law can be fulfilled.

DER STANDARD: In Poland, the revolution lasted 10 years, in Hungary 10 months, in the GDR 10 weeks, and in Prague 10 days. Was it merely caused by the brutal behavior of the security forces on 17 November?

Havel: This finally unleashed the revolution. The whole process started with the founding of Charter 77. First we just held a brave monologue in which nobody was really interested. Every now and then Radio Free Europe published excerpts form our resolutions, but otherwise our resolutions went directly to Prague's Bartolomejsa Street, the headquarters of the security authority, where they were immediately added to the criminal record. Today these resolutions and documents constitute the program of Civic Forum.

DER STANDARD: Did not arrests and unjustified trials also play a certain role?

Havel: At the beginning, the trials did not attract much attention at home and abroad. Public interest exploded for the first time when the rock orchestra Plastic People, a popular Czech underground group, was banned. I organized protests at the time, I collected signatures, and wrote letters. Even Professor Patocka, who had nothing to do with rock music, realized that the freedom of rock music is closely linked with the freedom of his phenomenology research. At the same time, writers, politicians, and other groups began to voice their concern. The communist regime thought it could get rid of the problems by arresting some long-haired musicians. This was short-sighted because the roots of Charter 77 can be traced back to the corridors of the court building. We began to meet regularly and discussed the human rights declarations of the Helsinki agreements. Thus, a platform for socialists, Christians, communists, and other groups developed. This led to the first Charter declaration. The 250 signers realized that this must not be a unique action. I was one of the three leaders, and I was always arrested after my public appearances. [passage omitted]

DER STANDARD: The economic reforms in Hungary and Poland are accompanied by negative effects. Prices are rising, unemployment is increasing, and the exchange rate of their currencies continues to decline. Do you think that similar things will happen in the CSSR?

Havel: I am convinced that we will successfully master this problem. The economic experts of Civic Forum have thoroughly dealt with these issues for some time, and we will solve them in a different way than planned by the communists. People will certainly be dismissed in our country as well, but we have worked out projects how they will still receive their salaries for a limited period so that hardships can be avoided.

DER STANDARD: What about the Gabcikovo project?

Havel: Our ecological experts have drafted plans concerning the suspension and stoppage of construction work at this dam without destroying the parts that have already been completed. The Hungarians are in agreement with these plans, so we do not expect any difficulties.

DER STANDARD: Let me ask you some brief questions in conclusion. What is your attitude toward the second "S" in the abbreviation CSSR?

Havel: This will have to be decided next year by the newly elected parliament. However, Civic Forum suggested reintroducing the name Czechoslovak Republic and the abbreviation CSR. [passage omitted]

Slovaks Continue To Promote Dubcek as President

AU2312175089

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 21 December on page 4 carries a 200-word undated statement made by Alexander Dubcek to Czechoslovak Radio and CTK, in which he affirms that "both Vaclav Havel and I are candidates for the post of president," but that they "cannot and do not stand against each other but alongside each other, which is the peculiarity of this election period." The same issue of PRAVDA also carries a number of statements, mostly in the form of readers' letters, which endorse Dubcek's candidacy and accuse the Civic Forum of using undemocratic practices in promoting Havel's candidacy. On page 1, for example, PRAVDA carries a 300-word letter from Tibor Hrozani from Bratislava, which questions the justification of the demand that the president be a Czech without party affiliation, because the premier is a Slovak and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia member. Hrozani argues that two of the three top posts in the state (premier, Federal Assembly chairman, and chairman of the National Front Central Committee) are currently occupied by Czechs and that there is no reason why the fourth post should also be held by a Czech. On page 3, Bratislava PRAVDA carries 600-word excerpts from a letter sent by K. Radvakov and J. Gajdos to Radio Free Europe [RFE], criticizing RFE's promotion of Havel as president. Apart from extolling Dubcek's virtues, the authors express the view that Gustav Husak's appointment of Marian Calfa as premier was "an act of revenge" against Dubcek and an attempt to eliminate him from the presidential race. They continue: "Even though a Slovak president appointed a Slovak as premier, the Civic Forum accepted this step directed against the Constitution and did not protest. Now, after 10 December [the date of Husak's resignation], it seems to us that this 'reshuffle' suited the Civic Forum fine. From then on, one only hears about Mr Havel. We assume that it was for this very reason that Mr Komarek did not want to become premier. It is startling that, practically overnight, one stopped talking about Dubcek." The authors also express the view that Slovaks are underrepresented in the new Federal Government. On page 4, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 700-word article by Jozef Sitko, which expresses disappointment with Civic Forum's approach to the presidential race. Sitko says that he would expect from Charter 77 signatories as the "leading segment of the civic initiatives" a "consistently democratic course of action" and asks whether it is democratic when Alexander Dubcek, "the first politician in our society to have spoken out for genuine democracy, freedom, and morality," is "discriminated against and excluded in advance from candidacy for the presidency." Several letters on the presidential issue, all of which either promote Dubcek's or criticize Havel's candidacy, are also published on Bratislava PRAVDA's page 5.

Swearing-in of New Government Reported

AU1312142689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 89 p 1

[Igor Sirota report: "Government of National Understanding"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted on 9 December talks on the composition of a new federal government] In line with Article 61 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, CSSR President Gustav Husak recalled from their posts, effective 10 December 1989, Marian Calfa, Bohumil Urban, Pavel Hrivnak, Jaromir Zak, Ladislav Vodrazka, Jaromir Johanes, Frantisek Pinc, Jan Stejskal, Alfred Sebek, Frantisek Reichel, Antonin Krumnikl, Jaromir Algayer, and Viliam Roth.

In a decision made on Sunday December 10 , CSSR President Gustav Husak then appointed a new premier and other members of the CSSR Government. [passage omitted]

The newly appointed members of the CSSR Government were sworn in, as prescribed by the Constitution, by the CSSR President at Prague Castle on Sunday.

The CSSR president congratulated the premier, deputy premiers, and members of the CSSR Government and wished them much success in their work.

I am glad, G. Husak said, that an agreement has been reached between political parties and civic initiatives on the composition of a new Government—the Government of National Understanding. This is an important way out of the present political and government crisis. It also sets an example for the solution to disputed issues at other places. Despite all the personal or political differences between you, it is necessary to bear in mind, above all, the interests of our state and its people. I hope that the Federal Government will last until the time of free elections when our citizens in villages, towns, districts, regions, the republics, and the state at large will express their opinion. On the basis of elections, new democratic representative bodies will be formed, Gustav Husak said. [passage omitted]

Adamec Briefs Commission on 17 Nov Events

LD2712213189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The parliamentary commission for monitoring the investigation of the 17 November events in Prague continued its work today. Commission member Vaclav Bartuska has been interviewed by Roman Zamboch:

[Begin Bartuska recording] [Passage omitted] Today we were primarily interested in finding our way to specific people and documents, which was why we summoned Dr Prusa, who is now the Federal first deputy interior minister. I think we succeeded in embarking on cooperation. It is possible to say that we will be probably given access to all the documents we need.

We compiled another report which we will probably give tomorrow to the press, and then we discussed the next course with the Military Prosecutor's office. [end recording]

It was shortly before 1300 when Ladislav Adamec, who headed the Czechoslovak Government on 17 November, arrived at the Federal Assembly building. On his way to the room where the parliamentary commission's holding its session he answered journalists' questions:

[Begin recording] [Adamec] It is, of course, difficult to speak about those things in detail because, although the Interior Ministry was part of the Federal Government, it was under the direct command of party organs. That means that the base is there. We will return to this.

[Unidentified reporter] You were at the same time also a member of the Presidium when the decision was made [word indistinct] about the intervention first time.

[Adamec] Yes. I think that this is valid, and in such a case I issue an order for the interior minister and he will confirm to me that he fully agrees with such an order.

[Unidentified reporter] So this means that as the premier of the gvernment you passed this order on?

[Adamec] [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Ladislav Adamec spent 30 minutes before parliamentary commission. [Words indistinct] Vaclav Bartuska briefed us at an improvised press conference on his answers:

[Begin Bartuska recording] The information given to us by the former premier of the Federal Government merely confirmed our view, which has already been made public several times, to the effect that political responsibility for the intervention on 17 November fell directly on former General Secretary Jakes and leading city secretary Stepan. This fully confirmed our own conclusions. [end recording]

Ninth 5-Year Plan To Be Scrapped

AU2412134389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 4

[CTK report: "Activating Program Instead of the 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] Prague— "The centrally planned economy in the CSSR was an error. In spite of some partial successes, it has become apparent that this system of management led to the loss of contact with the industrially advanced nations. Particularly conspicuous is our lagging behind in the use of science and technology. The infrastructure is obsolete, the quality of work is declining, and the material- and energy-intensiveness of production are disproportionately high," Vladimir Dlouhy, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, said at an economic aktiv of the State Planning Commission staff in Prague on Wednesday [20 December].

He said, furthermore, that it is necessary to abandon the 5-Year Plan for 1991-95. It will be replaced with a 2 or 3-year activating program that will mark a definite end to the system of management by command.

Workers Refuse To Build Civil Defense Shelters

AU2612074989 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 3

["Pk"-signed report: "Shelters or Apartments?"]

[Excerpts] At a meeting of the Civic Forum of the Civil Construction Works in Plzen, among other things, the demand was put forward to immediately halt the construction of Civil Defense shelters in the West Bohemian region. The employees of the works refuse to continue taking part in their construction. Their view is that in the current international situation this is not only a step backward, but also the degradation of their work and an absolute waste of investments and material. [passage omitted] At the same time, they appeal to their colleagues in other construction enterprises who are, without a doubt, forced to work on similar orders, to support their demand. [passage omitted]

Prague Streets, Metro Stations Renamed

AU2412140189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 2

["(jape)"-signed report: "New Names, New Owners"]

[Summary] Prague (By Our Reporter)—The Prague National Committee Council decided on 20 December that the Krasnoarmejcu [Red Army Members] Square in Prague is to be renamed Jan Palach Square, and Stalin Street in Prague's Chodov district Starochodovska [Old Chdov] Street. It also suggested that the Prague Central Railroad Station revert to its original name—Masaryk Railroad Station; certain metro stations will also be renamed. The premises formerly owned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia get new owners: the training centers in Mala Strana Square will be occupied by the Musical Academy and by university art departments; the hostels in Veleslavin will be used by university students; and the political schooling premises in Celetna Street by the students of pedagogics and philosophy.

Investigation of Corruption Case Reopened

AU2412141189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The Babinsky Case To Continue"]

[Text] Bratislava—According to instructions issued by the Office of the General Prosecutor of the Slovak Socialist Republic, the investigator of the Public Security's Investigation Section attached to the National Security Corps Administration for the capital Bratislava and the West Slovak Region has opened penal proceedings against several state and other figures for the crime of stealing socialist property, complicity in damaging socialist property, abuse of their public officials' authority, and acceptance of bribes, all perpetrated in the years 1974-84 while hunting game without a permit in the preserve of the Hunting Association in Trstena, using official vehicles belonging to the Trstena District Industrial Enterprise without authorization, and illegally accepting presents of property belonging to this and other organizations. For these illegitimate advantages, they provided extraordinary financial allocations to these organizations from the state budget. The investigation of these criminal activities is linked with the criminal prosecution against Stefan Babinsky, former director of the Trstena District Food Enterprise and chairman of the Jednota Consumers Cooperative in Dolny Kubin.

Effects of New Leadership on Media Evident

Newspapers Change Mastheads

AU2112141389

[Editorial Report] Several Czechoslovak newspapers received here have recently made changes to their mastheads. The first to do so was Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, which had until 6 December carried the masthead slogan "Proletarians of All Countries Unite!" Since 7 December, this slogan has been replaced with "Newspaper of all Residents of Prague." On the same day, VECERNI PRAHA also changed the masthead reference to its publisher from "published by the Prague Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] City Committee" to "published by the Prague CPCZ organization."

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak changed its masthead on 13 December. Until 12 December it carried the masthead slogan "Daily of the Slovak Socialist Youth Union [SSM] Central Committee." Since 13 December, this slogan has been replaced with "Daily of the Young." Effective from the same day, SMENA also omits from its masthead the reproduction of two orders which the paper had been awarded in the past.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech made a minor adjustment to its heading with effect from 15 December, by omitting from its masthead the subtitle PRAVO LIDU, in connection with the renewed publication of PRAVO LIDU as organ of the reestablished Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party.

With effect from 18 December, Prague PRACE in Czech changes its masthead slogan "Daily of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement" to "Daily of Trade Union Members," in connection with the declaration of its "independence from all trade union structures".

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, too, carries a new masthead in its 19 October issue, in accordance with a decision of the 17 December Extraordinary Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Congress. Instead of being designated as "organ of the CPSL Central Committee," the paper is described in the masthead as "CPSL daily." The reproduction of three previously awarded orders is also omitted from the masthead.

The 20 December issue of Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech comes out for the first time with the subhead "Daily of the Czechoslovak Youth." Until 19 December, it had been designated as "Daily of the SSM Central Committee."

The mastheads of the other Czech and Slovak dailies received here (Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY and Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech and Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY and VECERNIK in Slovak) remain unchanged. Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 18 December, the last available issue of this paper, publishes, however, a 500-word statement signed by 27 of its 31 staff journalists, in which they declare their wish to become independent of VECERNIK's publisher, the Bratislava CPSL City Committee, and to be an "independent newspaper of an all-city character."

New Independent Slovak Paper

AU1512120389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 89 p 2

["fm"-signed report on a news conference with representatives of the Public Against Violence movement in Bratislava on 7 December: "They Are Making Their Way Into Workplaces"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] Eugen Gindl, chief editor of the daily-to-be VEREJNOST [Public], said that the newspaper will go into publication next week on Friday [15 December] with a print run of 220,000 copies. Initially, it will be published irregularly, but after 1 January 1990 it will be published as a daily. The Public Against Violence movement is also preparing the publication of a weekly and a monthly, which depends, however, on the solution of some organizational questions. The creation was also announced at yesterday's news conference of the Academic Forum and of the Forum of Scientists and Researchers and the still unofficial symbol of the student movement was presented to the public.

Journalists Form Group

LD1612212489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Approximately 1,500 journalists met at the General Assembly in the Congress Palace in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Recreation in Prague today to create a syndicate. It will be a voluntary, independent, united,

nonpolitical protest trade union association of journalists of Bohemia and Moravia centered in Prague.

Public Against Violence Periodical

AU2012122489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Dec 89 p 2

["fm"-signed report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The first number of the periodical VEREJNOST, published by the coordination committee of the association Public Against Violence in Bratislava, is on sale in the PNS [Postal Newspaper Subscription Service] stalls. For the time being it will appear twice a week, and will be printed by the Printing Enterprise Prague, Enterprise 02 in Bratislava. Eugen Gindl, member of the Public Against Violence coordinarion committee, is heading the editorial office.

Program Council Established

LD1812211989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of the main political forces, churches as well as social and interest-based organizations met in Bratislava today at the constituent meeting of the national program council of Czechoslovak television and radio in Slovakia. The main aim of the meeting was to create guarantees which will provide scope for objective broadcasting based on political, trade union, and interest-based plurality and free expression of opinions encouraging independent civic attitudes.

Changes in TV, Radio Planned

AU2612074689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 89 p 2

["(Hy)"-signed report: "Changes in the Czechoslovak Television; Draft Communications Charter Worked Out"]

[Excerpts] Prague (by our reporter)—In view of the new conditions in our society, both the Czechoslovak Television (CST) and the Czechoslovak Radio are, in fact, to become institutions under public law. The Political Program Council has therefore worked out one joint draft program document for both institutions—the so-called Communications Charter, which lists the duties of the two communications media, defines the term "public interest" and the principles governing the access of political parties and forces to transmissions and broadcasts. It also specifies other pertinent matters connected with the status of both institutions under public law. Miroslav Pavel, CST central director, acquainted the executive staff of all CST studios with this draft at a gathering held on Monday, 18 December. The Charter itself should be approved in the course of this week. [passage omitted]

Miroslav Pavel, CST central director, also announced the plan of structural changes to be carried out within the CST. The first specific steps will be taken on 1 January 1990, when the reorganization will begin; it should be completed within 6 months. During its course, the number of management levels will be decreased—the offices of deputy central directors will cease to exist and the present central and main editorial offices will be abolished. On the other hand three production sections, headed by chief editors, will oe set up. The first will be focused on news reports, the second on reportages, documentaries, and educational programs, and the third on artistic programs. Furthermore, the CST will have a program center, a technical and operations center, and an administration center. The Teleexport Agency will continue to operate as an independent economic unit, with activities on the domestic and the foreign market. [passage omitted]

First Legal Issue of Paper

LD2312214589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] The first legal issue of LIDOVE NOVINY appeared on the newsstands today, thus putting an end to almost 2 years of persecution of its editors and the clandestine circulation of the newspaper from one reader to another. Although today's issue had a printing run of half a million, it soon sold out.

Next year the printing run is to be bigger Initially the newspaper will be coming out twice a week, and from spring, as a daily. LIDOVE NOVINY aims to be an independent newspaper which will treat topical events and assess the past 40 years in a balanced and sober way.

Daily Changes Masthead

AU2712145189

[Editorial Report] The 22 December issue of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech is published with a changed masthead. Until 21 December RUDE PRAVO carried the masthead slogan "Organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee." In the 22 December issue, this slogan is replaced with "Newspaper of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia."

CPCZ Paper Ownership Protested

LD2712234789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The coordination committee of the Public Against Violence pointed out the fact that the Czechoslovakia Communist Party continues to own magazines which it has withdrawn by force from publishing houses. In this way it took possession of the illustrated weekly ZIVOT and the TELEVÍZIA weekly which publishes television programs.

The committee asks that both magazines be immediately returned to their original publishing house Obzor.

At the same time it asks for the immediate renewal of the Tatrapress agency, founded in January 1968. It asks to

abolish immediatley the Orbis agency, of the period of consolidation and normalization, which compromised the publicity of Slovakia abroad.

At the same time it also proposes to return the EXPRES weekly to its original publisher—the Slovensky Spisovatel publishing house.

Komarek on CPCZ Members in New Government

AU1512062289 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with First CSSR Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek by "js" in Prague on 10 December: "It Is a Compromise"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Question] How satisfied are you with the government in which you will work?

[Komarek] The government is nothing definite, it is a product of a certain compromise. [passage omitted] However, it is a government that is capable of disciplining the state apparatus, ensuring a normal functioning of the economy, and giving people peace. It is a provisional government that does not correspond to the real distribution of political forces, which requires more democratic and progressive solutions. [passage omitted] The outcome of the discussions on the new government cannot be regarded as ideal, merely as acceptable.

[Question] The idea could flash across many people's minds that almost 50 percent of the new government is made up of Communists....

[Komarek] Look, I, too, am registered as Communist. But I would not use the term. Communism itself, as it is perceived, is nonsense. [passage omitted] It is a utopia which no one takes seriously. In other words, it is not a question of Communists or members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. They do not represent any party policy today, or they do represent it but the party does not have any clear policy today. Its leadership will change, there will be a new action program, the party must accept modern socialism. In other words, I believe that membership in the party is irrelevant, as long as they [presumably CPCZ members in the new government] are not people who belonged to the past and who really believed in some nonsensical concepts and theories, including the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle, and the like, but who linked their membership with the movement's original ideals—helping the people—and who wanted to lead society toward reform and to change the semi-fascist elements, in which the party, or its power structure, has had its share. Their membership in the CPCZ is irrelevant because they are democrats and patriots, whether they are Czech or Slovak. If they are in the CPCZ, it is, above all, to see to it that it, too, becomes fully democratic as soon as possible and that it goes fully with the nation.

Figures on CPSL Expenditure Revealed

AU1912115889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "How the CPSL Conducts its Economic Affairs"]

[Text] Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] expenditure and the expenditure of all its organizational structures were and are mainly covered by CPSL party resources. Roughly 88 percent of its income, that is Kcs304 million per annum, comes from members' contributions. Other income comes from the party's economic activity, for example, from revenues generated by the CPSL PRAVDA Press Combine. This year, an overall CPSL income of Kcs344 million has been envisaged. Expenditure should amount to Kcs382 million. The difference between expenditure and income is made up for the CPSL in the form of subsidies from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee. This year, subsidies will amount to approximately Kcs39 million.

It is necessary to reveal some figures already published on nationwide operational costs, costs refunded by the CPCZ from the Czechoslovak Federation's state budget; this is a CPCZ Central Committee matter (in these matters the CPSL Central Committee is directly affiliated to the CPCZ Central Committee budget). These are mainly costs associated with agitation—propaganda and mass political work are 50-percent subsidized, party schools are 50-percent subsidized, party museums are fully subsidized, the People's Militia is 75-percent subsidized, and the telephone network for state and party organs is fully subsidized. The volume of contributions from the state budget for carrying out activity amounts to around Kcs70 million per annum. This contribution is given to the party for the whole CPCZ, including the CPSL, from the federation's state budget. In Slovakia subsidies are not provided from the Slovak Socialist Republic Government for CPSL activity.

The situation is similar in investment activity where the state refunds costs for constructing buildings and for equipment. Their construction is financed from CPCZ resources. After buildings have been commissioned, costs are refunded from the Czechoslovak Federation state budget. Objects where this refunding has been implemented, thus become the state's property and are given over, just as in some other organizations, to the CPCZ for its permanent use. The volume of refunds for capital investment for the whole party amounts to an average of around Kcs300 million per annum. At the same time, it is necessary to state that equipment and fittings in these buildings are property acquired exclusively from party resources.

The Communist Party of Slovakia does not have any special shops for its officials and apparatus employees. The car pool has vehicles of the Tatra 613 type and various Ladas. The CPSL first secretary, CPSL Central Committee secretaries, and the chairman of the CPSL

Central Control and Audit Commission have a Tatra 613 at their disposal. Incidentally, they are only used for long journeys.

There are 3,104 employees, including administrative, specialist, and technical staff, in the apparatus' of regional and district committees, the CPSL Central Committee, and its other institutions (the CPSL Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute). Of this number, 2,197 employees work in the district committees' apparatus, 554 in the regional committees' apparatus, 263 in the CPSL Central Committee apparatus, and 90 in the CPSL Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute apparatus. The CPSL apparatus began to be reduced this year and will continue to be reduced.

North Bohemian CPCZ Regional Committee Changed

AU1912141289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] Usti nad Labem (Our correspondent)—At its emergency meeting in Usti nad Labem on Monday [11 December] evening and night, the North Bohemian CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee discussed and accepted the earlier submitted resignation of the present Presidium, Secretariat, and leading secretary of the CPCZ Regional Committee, Vaclav Sipek, and all other secretaries.

The session elected by secret ballot a new leadership of the party's regional committee, headed by Jaroslav Hacmac.

Report on CPCZ 18 Dec News Conference

AU2112101989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Prior to the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress"]

[Excerpt] At its session in Prague yesterday, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium dealt with preparations for the extraordinary party congress. This was announced by Josef Hora, head of the CPCZ Press Center, at his briefing for journalists in Prague yesterday.

He said that the Presidium would recommend to the congress that the new general secretary be elected from two or more candidates by a secret ballot taken by all delegates. It would also recommend that the number of members of the CPCZ Central Committee be reduced by about one-third and that, instead of the current Presidium, the congress should elect a Political Executive Committee with about 19 members and a small Secretariat. The number of Central Committee secretaries is also to be reduced.

Replying to journalists' questions, J. Hora said that the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium would naturally submit its proposals for the post of general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and he expressed the view that Karel Urbanek will be one of the candidates. He said, furthermore, that only 18 members of the present CPCZ Central Committee had been elected as delegates to the extraordinary congress. He also stressed that at its session the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium had expressed full support for the conclusions reached at the roundtable talks and had approved of the course taken by representatives of the CPCZ at these talks.

In another part of the news conference Rudolf Prevratil, press spokesman for the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC], announced that about 50 DFC representatives from the whole of the CSSR would participate in the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress. They claim the right to join the discussion and to propose candidates to the CPCZ Central Committee.

He went to say that on the basis of the specific results of the congress the DFC would consider whether the CPCZ is capable of enforcing true socialism in the future and of becoming a modern political party which adheres to principles. If not, the DFC and with it surely also hundreds of thousands of Communists could not remain in the ranks of the CPCZ, he added.

In reply to journalists' questions he characterized the DFC not only as a stream of thought within the CPCZ but also as an emerging political and organizational structure associating about 60,000 people. [passage omitted]

Biographies of CPSL Executive Committee Members

AU2312153789

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 December on page 3 publishes the photographs of all 11 members of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, who were elected at the Extraordinary CPSL Congress on 17 December. The photographs carry the following captions containing biographic data:

"Jan Siroky, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, 45, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] since 1969. Comes from a worker's family. Is graduate of the Institute of Chemical Engineering in Moscow. Worked as technician, designer, and instrumental mechanic in the Central Slovakia Cement Works Banska Bystrica, Chepos, the East Slovak Machine Tool Plant Kosice, and Slovnaft Bratislava.

"Carried out various functions in social organizations and in the CPSL. Was chairman of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement enterprise committee, member of a CPSL primary organization committee, instructor of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee, chairman of the CPSL all-enterprise committee in Slovnaft, head of section at the Bratislava CPSL City Committee, and

leading secretary of the CPSL Municipal District Committee in Bratislava-3. He last worked as head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

"Jan Kasper, 34, head of the propaganda and agitation department of the Slovak Socialist Youth Union Central Committee. Member of the CPCZ since 1984.

"Milan Ftacnik, 33, associate professor [docent] of theoretical cybernetics at the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics of Comenius University, Bratislava. Member of the CPCZ since 1979.

"Ladislav Krajnak, 26, assistant lecturer at the Engineering Faculty of the Kosice Technology College. Member of the CPCZ since 1987.

"Vladimir Raucina, 28, assistant lecturer at the Faculty of Electrical Engineering of Slovak College of Technology. Member of the CPCZ since 1985.

"Vladimir Jakubac, 31, chairman of the Bratislava Socialist Youth Union City Committee. Member of the CPCZ since 1980.

"Jozef Olej, 36, head of the Criminal Law Chair at the Faculty of Law of the P. J. Safarik University, Kosice. Member of the CPCZ since 1974.

"Bozena Ruttkayova, 33, worker in the Prievidza plant of the 29 August Works Partizanske. Member of the CPCZ since 1977.

"Pavol Kanis, 41, deputy director of the CPSL Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Bratislava. Member of the CPCZ since 1981.

"Dusan Podhorsky, 48, deputy director of the Slovak Hydrometeorology Institute, Bratislava. Member of the CPCZ since 1961.

"Peter Weiss, 37, scientific secretary of the CPSL Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Bratislava. Member of the CPCZ since 1977."

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA also publishes a photograph of the newly elected chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Auditing Commission, which carries the following caption: "Jan Demikat, 38, commander of the Armed Railroad Guards Corps of the Czechoslovak Railways Kosice. Member of the CPCZ since 1974."

On the same day, on page 2, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 400-word "vs"-signed report on a news conference on the results of the Extraordinary CPSL Congress, held in Prague on 20 December. Jan Siroky, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CPSL Central Committee, reportedly stated there he is not a relative of Viliam Siroky, CPSL chairman and CSSR premier in the fifties.

CPCZ Congress on Political Responsibility

AU2812100589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Resolution issued by the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress—date and place not given]

[Text] I. Proceeding from its analysis of the critical situation in the party and society, the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress:

a) expels from the ranks of CPCZ members Vasil Bilak as a representative of the forces which instigated the intervention by foreign armies on 21 August 1968, became aggressive exponents of Brezhnevism in the CPCZ, and imposed on the party a hard sectarian-dogmatic line which made it impossible to carry out fundamental reforms of the current system;

b) suspends membership in the CPCZ, because of gross political mistakes made in carrying out their high party offices, to: Peter Colotka, Jan Fojtik, Josef Havlin, Alois Indra, Marie Kabrhelova, Antonin Kapek, Josef Korcak, Bohuslav Chnoupek, Mikulas Beno, Karel Hoffmann, Miroslav Hruskovic, Ludovit Pezlar, Miroslav Zavadil, Ladislav Luhovy, Jan Pirc, Viliam Salgovic, Lubomir Strougal, Vratislav Vajnar, Jaroslav Hajn, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Ignac Janak, Gustav Husak, Zbynek Sojak, Otto Cmolik, Miroslav Muller, Frantisek Stafa, Frantisek Tesar, Karel Kovar, Jiri Purs, Vaclav Marek, and Miloslav Zika.

II. In the interest of purging the party of politically and morally discredited people and on the basis of demands of the membership base, the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress charges the CPCZ Central Committee elected at the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress with setting up a commission to assess the political responsibility in cases of abuse of power, personal enrichment, and corruption involving individual leading functionaries of the former CPCZ Central Committee during their tenure in party and other offices. The commission is to be made up of CPCZ members representing all CSSR regions who were not and are not employees of the party apparatus.

III. Instructs the CPCZ Central Committee, on the basis of investigations carried out by this commission, to draw conclusions along party lines against responsible functionaries and, in the event of criminal activity being ascertained, to pass the findings on to the prosecuting bodies.

IV. Assigns the task of supplying information on the results of the commission's inquiry in a comprehensive report to the 18th CPCZ Congress.

CPCZ Congress 'Appeal' to Expelled Members

AU2812120789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 1

["Appeal to Former Members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Expelled or Struck Off the Party Rolls in the Wake of the 1968-69 Period," adopted by the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress held in Prague on 20-21 December]

[Text] Comrades, in the hours of renewal which you yourselves initiated, we, delegates to the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress and, along with us, all ordinary Communists beg you to forgive the past, if you can. Let us proceed to work together for the people and a better future in the name of socialist ideals. Communists of this republic are waiting for, and wish, your return, by which you would demonstrate that it is possible for us to close a sad chapter of our past. Your return would be the first step on our road toward regaining the trust of the people. Thank you for your Communist decision. Believe us that at this moment we really need you!

[signed] Delegates to the Extraordinary Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress

Reportage on Prison Unrest, Demands, Reaction

Better Conditions Demanded

AU2112151889 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Prisoners' Demands"]

[Text] Zeliezovce—Prisoners in the institute of the Corps of Corrective Education in Zeliezovce in Levice District did not report for work yesterday [19 December] and demanded to speak to the commandant. They demanded changes in the valid legal norms which regulate their work and life in the facility. Some of their demands could be realized immediately, others will require longer and a decision at a higher level. After the dialogue, after the exchange of views and the adopted measures, calm and order returned to the institute.

Slovak Premier Hears Demands

LD2412104389 Prague CTK in English 0911 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 24 (CTK)—Prisoners in Leopoldov, West Slovakia, yesterday expressed their dissatisfaction with the present conditions, demanding a general amnesty, freedom and shortening of punishments.

They expressed a demand to meet with representatives of the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence, the Ministry of Justice, the Slovak General Prosecutor's Office, the Slovak Military Prosecutor's Office, the prisons' administration, and with representatives of Czechoslovak television.

In their statement, they called on the public to support their demands which will be submitted to the government and the Federal Assembly by means of the Public Against Violence and published by mass media.

Slovak Premier Milan Cic, Slovak Minister of Justice Ladislav Kosta, representatives of the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence and other officials yesterday arrived in the prison.

The Slovak premier said that he identified himself with the demands of the prisoners and that they will be stage by stage tackled. The cancellation of sharpened isolation comes into force today. The questions concerning the rights of the prisoners, health care and other problems will be tackled generally, i.e. in relation to all prisons.

The prisoners will stage a hunger strike from January 1 in support of their demands.

Slovak Minister Meets Delegation

LD2712232189 Prague CTK in English 2020 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 27 (CTK)—Slovak Minister of Justice Ladislav Kosta met here today with a delegation of convicts from a prison in Leopoldov which also represented the stands of inmates from other prisons in Slovakia.

The main topic under discussion was the creation of a coordinating committee in which each prison would have one representative elected by a convicts' committee.

Also discussed were some technical aspects of the expected amnesty but mainly the creation of prerequisites which would ensure for the convicts concerned gradual return to normal life.

The minister appraised the fact that no demand had been an ultimatum which made it possible to lessen tension and confrontation. There is relative quiet in prisons in Slovakia.

Civic Forum on Protests

LD2712231589 Prague CTK in English 2041 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 27 (CTK)—The Civic Forum strives to help calm down the present situation in cooperation with Czech Minister of Justice Dagmara Buresova. Civic Forum representatives told Czechoslovak and foreign journalists here today.

Demands of convicts' representatives are mostly moderate although fulfilment of some of them will take a longer time. According to information of the Civic Forum representatives, the situation in prisons is often unbearable and their regime rather tough with respect to the offences.

Convicts often call in their demands for amnesty. But this is the issue which only a Czechoslovak president can decide. Therefore the Civic Forum appeals to convicts to behave reasonably and not to spoil the possible amnesty.

The Civic Forum representatives also said that sentences in disputable cases will be revised and that cases of those sentenced for spying in secret trials must be explained. Also revised should be the cases of citizens sentenced for conflicts with members of the security corps.

The journalists were briefed of the Civic Forum humanitarian aid to Romania, financial support and direct experience of the Civic Forum which had sent its representatives to Romania.

Reportage on Charter 77 Activists, Views

Hejdanek Views Past, Future

36390105 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Nov 89 p 10

[Article by Halvor Tjonn and John Myhre: "The Philosopher Who Survived the Ice Age"]

[Text] Prague.

"Leave the country? Yes, the thought occured to me many times. But philosophy is my profession. A writer, writer or philosopher, must live with the language. To leave one's homeland means to leave a part of oneself behind. Therefore, I chose to remain here."

Ice has covered Czechoslovakia for Ladislav Hejdanek's entire life. Now the ice has lost its grip. While snow falls over Prague in the November darkness, the people are in the process of divesting themselves of a 40-year-old tyranny.

Today Ladislav Hejdanek is a content retiree. At the age of 60 one can retire in East Europe. For Hejdanek this meant that he could consecrate his time to that which has been most dear to his heart— his whole life: philosophy.

This has been far from the case for most of his life. His working years in the socialist vinyard were spent as a nightwatchman, a construction worker, and contributing to construction articles. As a non-Marxist this was the only type of work he could get. And one had to work, or the police leveled charges of "parasitic activities."

"The first time I was arrested was in 1971. The sentence was for 9 months' imprisonment. In 1977 came Charta 77. Together with Jiri Hajek I was the spokesman for the movement from the beginning. For 2 years uniformed policemen sat in front of my door. Three policemen sat outside in a car in the street. When I took the bus to work, two policemen accompanied me on the bus, while a third drove behind the bus in a car."

Hejdanek, with a sense of humor and a gleam in his eye, tells of 40 years of being watched and being badgered. No bitterness can be felt. After 41 years of being a foreigner in his own country, he is standing at the center of the drama which is now taking place in Prague. He cherishes every moment. The telephone rings without a break, people come and go in the apartment. Many want to hear his comments on what is happening. He is known for being sober, he would rather extract something from rather than add to the conversation when the current situation is analyzed.

"I will summarize the four decades of communist rule in one sentence—It was a conspiracy of the inept." His words hit hard. The judgement is hard. "To have talent has always been dangerous. Our schools and universities are bad, our bureaucracy is miserable, our cultural life suffers from senility, and our businesses are decaying. All this is a product of the communists after 1948 looking upon talent as something suspect. Naturally the situation in 1945 was bad. The country's elite in large part succumbed in Hitler's camps. Then came the communists and they purged all who were not in agreement with them. Only true Marxists could get the leading positions. Following this a generation of reformed communists grew up. In 1968 the bell tolled for them. Only the talentless remained."

As an avowed Christian and a non-Marxist, Hejdanek was forbidden to publish his philosophical writings. He continued his activities anyway and was accordingly well known as one of the very few non-Marxist philosophers in Czechoslovakia. The relationship between religious faith and philosophy has been the main theme for his work.

Interviews With Other Members

AU0712131989

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "Dialogue," Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 2 December devotes its entire page 6 to Czechoslovak civic initiatives and independent groups. Besides the 7-point program of the Civic Forum, the page includes a 2,000-word interview with Cestmir Cisar, member of the executive committee of the "Obroda" [Revival] club of reform communists, in which he explains the club's aims, organizational principles, and attitude to the Civic Forum, as well his ideas about Obroda's future, and a 1,700-word interview with Dana Nemcova, one of the three spokespersons for Charter 77.

In the interview, Nemcova discusses the circumstances of the founding and the original aims of Charter 77 and the history of persecution of its signatories. Asked about the justification of Charter's existence in the present circumstances, Nemcova says that—once a "truly open democratic society" is created in Czechoslovakia—"Charter 77 will problably dissolve in emerging political structures," in view of the diversity of world outlooks of its signatories.

On 5 December, on page 3, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY carries a 1,400-word interview with "one of the most ardent defenders of human rights and first Charter 77

signatories," Petr Uhl, dealing with the history and activities of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted. In this interview Uhl mentions that, although most political prisoners on the committee's list have been released, two "unjustly sentenced" persons, A. Pernicky and P. Hauptmann, as well as four unnamed persons who had been sentenced on "doubtful" espionage charges, remain in prison.

Interviews with Charter 77 activists or with protagonists of the 1968 reform in Czechoslovakia (Ota Veverka, Zdenek Mlynar, Jiri Hajek, Cestmir Cisar, Ota Sik) are published also by a number of other Czech dailies between 2 and 5 December.

Janouch on Prague Branch Plans

LD0312133289 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Frantisek Janouch, one of the Czech opposition politicians who sought refuge in Sweden after the Prague Spring was crushed in 1968, has now been able to return to Prague. In his years of exile Janouch was very active in the Charter-77 opposition movement. Our East European correspondent Goeran Skaansberg has met him.

[Begin recording] [Skaansberg] How does it feel for you to be in Prague now? You've been away for 16 years and you were unable to come back here before now.

[Janouch] Yes, it's like a dream. It's like a dream; I could never have thought [pauses]...I was sure that I'd come back to Prague, but that it would be so beautiful, so incredibly intense, I couldn't have imagined. In fact, when I left Prague in December 1973, Frantisek Kriegl gave me a book, an old Chinese book, in which he wrote: To Frantisek Janouch, in memory of a long journey, from Prague to Prague.

[Skaansberg] But there is still a long journey ahead, a long struggle for democracy.

[Janouch] There is a long journey ahead before Czechoslovakia comes back to Europe, and is a free, democratic and happy country.

[Skaansberg] You have worked for a long time as a director of the Charter-77 Foundation. What will you do with that now? What will happen to it?

[Janouch] Yes, we have decided, and we have offered [pauses]...I am to have talks tomorrow with members of the government, in the Czech and the federal government to get a branch of the Charter-77 Foundation in Prague, and to obtain help to finance this process of democratization, of effectivizing this from—directly from here, from Prague.

[Skaansberg] Is the money coming from all over the world?

[Janouch] It's money coming from all over the world. It's money coming from the Swedish people. Every month we get perhaps 100 contributions, from 10 kronor to 500 kronor, and we are very grateful to all who supported us. I just want to say that we will need support, unfortunately, for a few years more yet. [end recording]

Deliberate 'Misinformation' Denied

LD0512142389 Prague CTK in English 1401 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 5 (CTK)—The report about the death of student Martin Smid during the peaceful demonstration in Prague on November 17, 1989 "was in no case purposeful misinformation," leading activist of the Charter 77 initiative Petr Uhl has told CTK.

Petr Uhl, who is also member of the Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Persecuted, one of the founders of the East European Information Agency and coordinator of the activity of the Polish- Czechoslovak Solidarity, underlined that :"At the time I conveyed this information to foreign journalists I was convinced that it was true."

He pointed out that the report came from Drahomira Drazska who had been injured during the demonstration and later hospitalized. This information was passed to foreign journalists by the East European Information Agency late in the evening on Saturday, November 18. Several people decided about the publication of the information. "In the following hours our source turned out to be unreliable. During our own investigation she admitted she had been lying. It was our professional fault that should not have occurred. " Petr Uhl said.

Speaking about the activity of the East European Information Agency Petr Uhl said that its task is to provide information not carried by offical mass media, to publish statements voicing international solidarity with prisoners sentenced for their political beliefs. The agency closely cooperates with similar institutions in Poland and the Soviet Union and maintains links with branches of foreign agencies in Prague.

When asked about the future of the agency, Petr Uhl said that it will seek legalization and economic independence, noting that the agency has as yet been partly financed by the Free Europe Radio station which covered the costs of the transmission of reports and telephone calls.

Group Plans To Open Branches

AU2612075589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 89 p 8

["Is"-signed report: "Million Dollars Within Six Months; Branch of Charter 77 Foundation Opened"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent)—The branch of the Charter 77 Foundation in Czechoslovakia can spend $1 million within 6 months. At the same time, for example, the assistance to LIDOVE NOVINY will be stepped up and the foundation envisages spending several hundred of thousands of dollars on the purchase of a most modern editorial office computer system. This

was announced by Frantisek Janouch, chairman of the Charter 77 Foundation, at a news conference on Monday, 18 December. [passage omitted]

He also said that representatives of the foundation disussed the opening of the branch in the CSSR with Premier M. Calfa and other representatives, who received the idea positively. The foundation will have a branch in Prague, and outlets in Brno and Bratislava, which—after deliberation—will decide about the applications for the allocation of funds. The most important at the moment is the support for independent structures, assistance to four periodicals in Bratislava, and in Prague to LIDOVE NOVINY, to the ATLANTIS publishing house, and others. Here F. Janouch added that the foundation is not taking over LIDOVE NOVINY to run it out of its pocket. Its activities must prove that it will survive or go under.

Roundtable Meets in Berlin for 4th Session

LD2712180289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1628 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable met today for its fourth meeting, for the first time in its new home, the conference building in the grounds of Schloss Niederschoenhausen in Berlin. The building was made available by the GDR Council of Ministers and offers all present better working conditions.

Chaired by Church Assembly member Martin Ziegler from the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR and Dr Karl-Heinz Ducke from the Berlin Bishops' Conference, the representatives of 16 parties, political groupings and organizations discussed the draft proposed by the Council of Ministers on rules for the work of citizens' committees. The suggestion to find a legal framework for the work came from the first roundtable. [passage omitted]

The participants unanimously adopted a supplement to the agenda that gives them the right to use advisers during the meetings.

Rainer Schramm, a representative of the Free German Trade Union Federation, was excluded from further sessions because of his membership in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism. The body was thus implementing a decision of the previous roundtable, according to which dual membership removes the right to sit in this circle. The chair announced that this place can be filled by another trade unionist.

The Chamber of Technology, the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, and the Working Group for the Formation of a National Citizens' Movement have applied to participate in the roundtable. These applications were passed to the body's priorities group. [passage omitted]

Government Role Debated

LD2712153289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The roundtable discussed the legal position of the citizens' movements in the GDR. After the debate, a program and proposed amendments were submitted to the newly formed legal affairs committee of the roundtable. The relationship with the government was discussed widely. Representatives of New Forum and the United Left described it as a transitional government with limited competence. Doubts were expressed in particular relating to decisions on the burning of documents of the former State Security Ministry. New Forum even demanded a right of veto over government decisions. CDU Chairman de Maiziere, himself a member of the roundtable, dismissed these thoughts, to Radio GDR, as incapacitation of the Modrow Cabinet. Over the next few days, he hopes to speak with the government leader about improved cooperation with the roundtable. [passage omitted]

Concern About Neo-Fascism

LD2712200589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1741 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The participants in the roundtable adopted a statement in Berlin today on neo-fascist tendencies in the GDR. It says that the increased appearance of neo-fascist forces in the country is being observed with great concern. The participants stress: "There is still time to nip it in the bud."

The statement "in serious concern at the danger from the right" says: "The participants in the roundtable have observed with great concern that appearances of neo-fascist forces in the country are on the increase and that they are aligning themselves. Whereas in 1988 there were 44 criminal investigations by the police on account of neo-fascist acts of violence and activities, there have been 144 already this year up to the end of November.

The participants in the roundtable oppose any form of neo-fascist activity most strongly. They see alarm signals. There is still time to nip it in the bud, but it is now high time. For this it is necessary to preserve and to unmistakeably strengthen the anti-fascist climate in GDR society and to strongly oppose everything and everyone that discriminates against whole groups of people and excludes those who think differently and are different, and, thus, disregards the equality of all people and gives rise to serious dangers for the nation and democracy. It is the responsibility of all political forces of the country that are concerned about freedom from violence and democratic restructuring to oppose this.

The local people's representatives and citizens' committees are called upon to support at all levels the work of the anti-fascist action groups."

Proposals on Security Group

LD2712211989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1855 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable—the representatives of 16 parties, political groupings and organisations—has at its fourth round in Berlin today come out in favor of the creation of a security working group, which is to deal with the disbandment of the Office for National Security.

A competent member of the government should answer a series of open questions on this subject as well as on the government press release on 14 December on the formation of an intelligence service and a body for the protection of the GDR's Constitution at the next roundtable on 3 January. The proposal "to postpone the directive of 14 December of the formation of an Office for the Protection of the Constitution until 6 May". [as received] One

should step back and look at the formation of an independent Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Concepts must be discussed publicly.

Those present passed a motion on the basic principle of using the buildings of the former Ministry for State Security for ecological safety and the health service. [passage omitted]

The participants decided to have a representative of the Council of Ministers as well as of the Economics Ministry present throughout future meetings of the roundtable, as well and to invite the ministers responsible for questions on their portfolios. They also passed a motion that envisions the prompt presentation in writing of draft laws and other important governmental decisions to the participants in the roundtable.

Gysi Speech to Extraordinary SED Congress

LD2012155489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Dec 89 pp 3-6

[Speech by Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS), to extraordinary SED congress session in East Berlin on 17 December]

[Text] Comrades, when we part today and look toward the new year, our points of orientation in politics and in time are the regular party congress and the elections of 6 May 1990. Whether we like it or not, the election campaign has already begun. The historic day in May next year will determine the proceedings of all parties and movements. Undergoing renewal, our party thus faces the urgent task of consolidating itself through intraparty communications with its basic organization on program and statute matters and of establishing itself as an electioneering party. In this most fateful hour for our country, electioneering should encompass the consensus of all social forces to grant every support to the Modrow coalition government and to guarantee its full capacity to act under any circumstances for the benefit of the GDR's independence and sovereignty. In this context, we consider the government the only force able to guarantee our society's way toward democracy in the forthcoming elections.

It is our political duty as a party undergoing renewal to make a substantial contribution in the coming mnonths to the current discussion on the future of the GDR. We intend to join the public debate with multivoiced expressions of our position so that the two German states can grow into a treaty-based community without jeopardizing stability in Europe and creating fears among the peoples on our continent by rash and unreflected actions. Unification of the two German states would be an irresponsible step to take for any politician, and would boil down to the decision of turning the GDR into an underdeveloped federal land [Bundesland] with an uncertain social future for its citizens, thus leaving it the poor quarters of the FRG. It would be an unworthy farewell to a country that for all that has happened bears the well-respected name—German Democratic Republic.

The GDR citizens have not lived in vain. They have worked with diligence and lived with anger, it is true, but also with pride, which we must not forget either. They have gained self-determination out of their own strength, and we must not take chances with it now. With their democratic and peaceful popular movement they have opened up the unique opportunity for themselves of establishing a humanist social alternative to the FRG, thus stimulating democratic competition between the two German states. Nobody should carelessly gamble with that historic chance from pure selfishness. We declare our commitment to the German Democratic Republic.

In the wake of this congress, the party must form a basis for taking concentrated action. That must be done before elections to its executive functions are held. It must be decided at the grass roots, the basic organizations in which the party membership would like to be affiliated. Immediately after the congress, the members of the party Presidium will visit basic organizations at enterprise or cooperative levels to consult with party officials and members as well as with those not affiliated to it. Every congressional delegate will doubtlessly consider it his duty to analyze the congressional results and help establish basic organizations. Out of the ranks of the kreis [district] and bezirk [area] executive members, instructors' brigades will visit the basic organizations of enterprise, cooperative and other institutional levels, as well as in the cities and communities.

Where the executive boards of basic organizations are fully intact and respected, consultations will have to be held with them on how they intend to work for party consolidation. Wherever leading bodies at the grass roots are no longer functioning or basic organizations have ceased to exist, the assigned instructors should try to form new basic units in cooperation with comrades who are willing to do so. The instructors' operation will be organized and coordinated by the district party leaderships. The district leaderships, and I am in fact referring to the elected leaderships, should self-responsibly manage the recruitment of district leaderships members and other able comrades to establish basic organizations. I propose that a document on the mobilization of basic organisations be adopted toward the end of the congress that offers a succinct and precise answer to the question of what the party wants.

Moreover, the results of this extraordinary congress are to be extensively debated with all comrades who are willing to stay with the party throughout its renewal. The party program and state drafts are to be thoroughly scrutinized with the party clearly showing its face.

Comrades, according to information on hand, we still count 1.7 million members. There is no other party or

democratic movement in our country that comes anywhere near that organized strength within its ranks. However, we must appear and speak our mind everywhere and say clearly what we are after and how important this party is for our country. With your heads bowed, comrades, your views will inevitably be limited. What is in store for us can only be managed with our heads held up high.

How much effect this extraordinary congress will actually have on our party will depend on the pace at which all basic organizations regain their capacity for acting. That is at the core of the consolidation efforts we have to make from the grass roots to the top. They will have to substantially completed before the ordinary party congress. The pre-congress elections to the party's leading bodies on basic, community, city, kreis, and bezirk levels are to reunite the comrades. Leading and executive bodies will have to be elected that enjoy membership confidence, activate the basic organizations, and regain our party's credibility.

The party executive board will create the necessary conditions, in preparation for the ordinary congress, for all comrades to get a most-simple party membership card. Nowhere must it be ignored in the process that the break with the SED's Stalinist lines of thought and organizational structures turns out to be a more or less complicated learning process for every individual comrade, too, and requires both tolerance and patience as well as consistence. However, we say that with a view to the concern of the many elderly comrades and party veterans to whom this break in their lives is especially painful and the loyalty, experience, and commitment of which our party is neither willing nor able to forego.

The first part of our extraordinary congress failed to bring our party's decay at the grass roots to a halt. Widespread doubts as to the success of our party's renewal are still in place, and so is fear of animosity. We must show greater solidarity with each other and take courage from the fellowship within our party collective and from the reliance on mutual support. Our party cannot be indifferent as to which and how many new members joint its ranks. It is to those former party members who have expressed their protest against the erstwhile leadership by leaving the party and who are willing to go along on the course of renewal that we appeal to rejoin our ranks. Careerists and Stalinists who prove unable to learn from the past will see their political home purposefully taken away from them by this congress.

Together we must and will develop intra-party democracy based on the will of the majority of its members. Exercising basic democracy and safeguarding joint party action does not require uniform decisions, however. What is important, instead, is to always and everywhere promote frank debate and guarantee freedom of expression in the process of decision-making and adopting the decisions. There must be no more uniformity within the party. In all party collectives the necessary conditions must be established now for ensuring decision-making from the bottom to the top. Decisions can only take root on the party basis. Before making any decisions, alternative options must be pointed out, minority views must be heeded, the decision-making process must be made transparent, and decent political quarrels—as well as controversial discussions—must be understood as important aspects of modern intra-party democracy.

In our view, different movements of thought and productive minority standpoints can foster constructive debate and promote the adoption of majority decisions. What counts for us is that controversies are carried out in a decent way and for the benefit, rather than to the detriment, of the party. In a free critical and constructive discussion, the contributions of all comrades to democratic decision-making will be welcome. That includes frank and confidence-building talks as well as consultations and differences of opinion with competent technical experts on all relevant issues.

The success of trying to regain confidence in our party will crucially depend upon the stability of newly elected executive members and other permanent staff to create frank and honest cooperation among the comrades, and also with the members of other parties or civic initiatives and with nonaffiliated individuals. Only such an approach to our work can enhance the elected executive bodies' authority and sovereignty within the party apparatus. The grass-roots party structures must bear witness to current requirements in order to allow our party, like all other parties, to take its specific position within the political system of the socialist society. They ought to be shaped in a way that supports democratic decision-making from the bottom, steps up democratic initiatives launched from the party basis, and ensures a creative approach to be taken by all comrades in the process of renewal.

Our party organizes itself according to both the territorial and production principles. The concrete shape of its organizational structure in the territories and residential areas is to be defined at the basic organizations' own initiative, according to local conditions and in coordination with the district executive boards. It must be up to the requirements of an electioneering party. The role of the basic organizations in the territories will rise substantially. We see their tasks mainly in agreeing at their monthly members' assemblies on party policy contents, mandating concrete assignments, holding regular consultations with party delegates and supporting them in their work as well as elaborating positions on local and social policy issues, organizing party events and education within the residential areas, determining the relationships with other groups and initiatives, and finding areas for the cooperation of comrades in the trade unions, among the youths, in councils, interest group associations, civic committees and civic communities.

It is up to the responsibility of the basic organization within enterprises, institutions and cooperatives to decide how they will shape their future party work and

develop political influence in the working collectives. Many basic organizations have decided to stay within the enterprises and adjust to the new conditions and contents of their work. In the long run it is clear, however, that the basic organizations in the territories will become the decisive organizational element. In the enterprises where basic organizations have been or are about to be disbanded, it should be ensured that the comrades occasionally gather for consultation as party cells, as it were. Each party cell will elect its spokesman, which means that, in terms of party organization, the member in question is registered and politically active within the territory, but at the same time also voices and represents political, social, and economic interests within the enterprise. It goes without saying that party work will have to be done outside working hours.

Experience so far and existing positions support the continuing existence of basic organizations in universities, academies, and special schools, particularly because it is hard for students to be incorporated in territorial structures. Of course, the other parties should be permitted to have the same rights within such institutions, too.

However, the dissolution of basic organizations within state bodies and within the units of the Armed Forces is required.

Independent of their membership in territorial basic organizations, the comrades will certainly organize occasional meetings to discuss political tasks, just like in plants without basic organizations.

Bezirk and kreis executive boards will base their work on commissions consisting of elected and appointed members and the necessary colleagues. They support our party groups in the elected public representations.

Style, form, and methods of party apparatus activities must service the creative work of the party in close daily connection with the party basis and the citizens. We must never again permit the apparatus to become independent from the elected executive boards; however, is is equally clear that the executives need the support of employed colleagues. The party apparatus must live up to the requirements of the forthcoming election campaign. It must in every case work more efficiently. In the future it will be much smaller, but hopefully more effective.

In connection with the reduction that is already taking place, every executive board member is responsible for a socially safe transition of their colleagues to a new job. We are no longer prepared to tolerate any discrediting of honest people in the party apparatus.

One of the member's duties is to pay the party contribution to the basic organization he belongs to. The party executive board will soon adopt guidelines for fees in the consideration of basic organization proposals. Until then, the party statue regulations are valid. Many people have stopped paying their fees or demand them back out of fear of embezzlement.

As you learned yesterday, all buildings in the Wandlitz settlement belong to the Council of Ministers, which means that they belong to the people. They will be used for the rehabilitation of citizens, so they will be really used as property of the people. Many other unjustified luxurious buildings of the former leadership are also property of the people and will be used accordingly. The Volvo automobiles and the government planes are the property of the Council of Ministers. All this was caused by the almost complete unity of party and government leadership. Insofar, party money was not misused. But in cases where it was misused, we will hold the respective people responsible.

The Arbitration Commission will now have to open party proceedings against the former leading functionaries and their dependents. The investigative commission—you heard an interim report yesterday—will continue its work and then submit a final report. At present a thorough control of state finances is taking place to permit a balance of accounts and a new beginning.

As regards party property and party enterprises, one must say that we are investigating that also. If something does not belong to us, we will give it back. But if it is our property, it belongs to all party members and we have no right to give up that property. However, it is our duty to safeguard useful exploitation. A party existing for so many years naturally has more property than one that has just been founded.

A new concept must be worked out for party enterprises. In very few cases—such as in that of the Dietz publishing house—establishing a political profile is involved. In most cases the safeguarding of jobs or economic activities are involved. Most parties in the world have printing facilities. As far as possible, we will give up party enterprises, but it will be done properly, financially, and juridically.

We maintain that in the future guest houses will not be made available to high-ranking party officials, but to all members and other citizens. Economic points of view will be involved, because the party's financial situation could become complicated since we feel morally obliged to maintain international solidarity.

We will make our capacities available to new political movements as far as necessary in order to demonstrate our sincere interest in their democratic activities.

The central kreis management, for example, could be moved to the bezirk management quarters. Since this building clearly belongs to us, we could make it available to other parties and movements on a contractual basis. The party executive board's house will be used for new functions. However, this will take some time. It will become a meeting place with a library, movie room, and

guest rooms. It will become an open house. The information and advice center will continue to exist. There will be rostrum discussions in the future.

The fact that we have to deal with party members demanding their fees back—which I think cannot be done—or that they stop paying their fees, is because of the corruption and misuse of authority by the former leadership. I understand the comrades very well who demand that; and I say that those who were responsible have created a much greater mess than they may have believed themselves.

Many comrades are worried by the future of party schools. We all certainly agree that the contents and forms of current training have mostly become obsolete. Renovation of the party, however, needs the activity of many educated comrades working on establishing new social concepts and representing our party's standpoints with convincing arguments. The party executive board must still form an opinion on the motion submitted to the party congress on whether it is justified to continue the Karl Marx Party Academy, or whether we should turn the Karl Liebknecht Party Academy in Klein Machnow into a central party school, something other parties also have. It seems clear to me, however, that we do not need a party academy, a party college, and several institutes. A new structure is necessary here, also for cost reasons.

In the tasks we will be facing as an election campaign party, we can in no way renounce the political and theoretical qualification of our members. Therefore, the party executive board supports the proposals from bezirks to turn the bezirk party schools into political education centers where our party members and colleagues belonging to elected bodies can undergo differentiated political training. Possibilities should be created for evening courses, weekend training courses, and educational evening meetings for all interested members and sympathizers of our party. Courses are needed for deputies and election campaign managers of our party, courses on family and women's policy, economy, environment, science, technology, culture, housing area problems, and foreign languages. Eventually the bezirk party schools could gain new significance as spiritual and cultural centers in the territories.

The Party Executive Board supports the most divergent bezirk initiatives to use these schools as places for students, for consultation, and for movement of all citizens. The rooms could also be used for theaters, movies, and art galleries. The supply capacities could be used for food supply to school children or public restaurants. This has an economic aspect, too. Unneeded boarding school places could be offered for rent or used sensibly for social purposes for the people. These various possibilities should have a clear juridical framework.

What do we think of future party school work? Do we need something like that at all? It is clear that there will be no return to the old-style party schooling with a fixed framework and the learning of formulas. However, we would break a tested tradition of the German workers movement if we deprived comrades of an opportunity to discuss ideological, theoretical, political poroblems, and our aims, basic ideas, and ideals.

We, therefore, suggest establishing party educational circles where all these problems can be discussed, where arguments for political work will be formed, and where variants and solutions for the revolutionary renovation of a socialist society will be debated and joint standpoints sought. The Party Executive Board intends to issue discussion offers. The comrades themselves will decide what will be discussed and when.

In the housing areas, which will much more become targets of political work with a view to election campaigns, forums and evening courses will be held on current political issues. Party members will obtain information, arguments, and ideas, particularly with regard to communal policy problems and ideas they need for dialogue wilth the citizens. Party education and training must not be just an internal matter. Campaigning and convincing work for our program, and our solutions for routine problems, the perspectives of the country and its citizens, call for broad and clear explanations of our policy. It is a matter of give and take, an open dialogue, and not the announcement of policy claiming to be the absolute truth. No, we want and need the knowledgeable and also clever argument with which we can win majorities for socialism. We simply need every voice in the elections to be in favor of preserving the country. This can only be achieved with our party.

The most capable, knowledgeable, and experienced party representatives in political dialogues at all levels must be used to explain what our party is, what it wants, what interests it represents, and what it intends to do. The Party Executive Board lecturers will in this way support the comrades at the basic level.

I will now discuss the political system of the GDR. The political system of the GDR is increasingly becoming a pluralist system. It can function only on the principle of peaceful political discussions, based on a consensus of the Constitution. This is a new basis for our country. It is simultaneously a new challenge for our party. We want to work out, together with the political parties, social organizations, and movements, joint basic positions to solve the grave economic, social, political, and humanitarian problems of our country. The deep GDR crisis can only be overcome jointly.

In other words, one must struggle on a democratic basis and in objective cooperation with all political and social forces for the renovation of socialism in all social fields. It is our duty to quickly establish wide cooperation of all forces for the functioning of the economy and the state, enterprises, institutions, and communal representations in cities and communities. In consensus with political parties and social movements, attempts must be aimed at solving the German problem according to German

unity models. On all party levels a dialogue must be held with the democratic forces to develop joint positions and initiatives for a qualified partnership of both German states.

Our party members, as well as others, are requested to represent the interests of citizens, represent them with initiative and good ideas where the people live and work. We need a tangible policy. The democracy developing in our country is the bond holding us together with other local democratic forces. It is the key opening the door for broad cooperation.

We will form the roundtable discussion as a significant form of dialogue for the establishment of a wide consensus on vital problems of our country in patriotic responsibility. We consider the roundtable outside parliament as not just a temporary phenomenon in the political system of the GDR; the roundtable represents a social interest. At that table consensus can be found between parliamentary and extraparliamentary forces on basic political problems and other issues—a consensus representing the will of the people to a great extent. The results of discussions or the opinion formed at the roundtable will thus gain direct significance for political state decisions. Naturally, however, it cannot replace state decisions and competence.

We consider the roundtable dialogue a possibility to integrate existing and newly developing organizations and movements in the discussion about renovating our country. The roundtable safeguards the democratic dialogue, the overcoming of mistrust, and it creates chances for cooperative action.

The renovation of society in the GDR is unthinkable without the engagement of millions of the faithful, without the active cooperation of churches and religious groups. We support the attitude of leading church representatives that the church should neither be a political party nor part of the political organization of this society. It results from the mission of the church.

On the other hand, the churches and religious groups are without any doubt a significant factor in the society's pluralism of opinion and interest. Not just recently, its ability was demonstrated to react and bring influence to bear in a very responsible and sensitive way on social processes.

The churches and their representatives have in times of high emotions, justified resentment, exasperation, and anger repeatedly urged in public to remain peaceful and apply the proper standards. We thank the Evangelical and Catholic Churches for this engagement and their mediating function as hosts of the first roundtable talk.

The churches raise opinions and positions on basic social development problems at the roundtable talks, and on the other hand their experience in dealing with various ideological trends gains increasing importance for all. I have in mind the culture of dispute it has used in talking politics, the spiritual and peaceful dispute. With respect for the specific mission of the churches, we want to create—disregarding the basic ideological principles and interests—a responsible community of all for truly democratic socialism in the GDR.

The moral and ethical values of Christian belief belong to the spiritual richness of many people, including ours. In the common struggle against fascism and war, it is still valid that different ideological positions must stand behind the urgent problems of life. We are prepared for a wide dialogue involving all issues and themes, and we declare our tolerance regarding those with other views. We regret that in the past leading church representatives and believers have been, in part, excluded from that dialogue.

Churches and believers with their activities in charitable organizations, their cultural, educational and international activities, make an important contribution to the general social development. Much more than ever before can be achieved through cooperation in the field of foreign policy, the maintaining of GDR identity, and in solidarity work. The Evangelical Churches in the GDR and FRG closely cooperated for a long time despite recognition of their respective independence and sovereignty. This experience can be exploited by others.

Our party clearly protects Jewish religion and culture, giving state and social care to the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR and all Jewish citizens.

Our basic antifascist position includes the protection of the dignity of every Jewish citizen. The history of the German people shows where anti-Semitism can lead. Current antifascism therefore means, in particular, to stop every beginning of anti-Semitism and give it no place to develop. We advise the government to establish diplomatic relations with Israel, which does not mean dismantling the good relations with Arab states, nor does it mean agreement with Israeli Government policy with regard to the Palestinian people or the neighboring states. Besides, diplomatic relations never mean agreement with a certain government policy.

However, we as a German republic have a special obligation to the Jewish people, and we really should observe this obligation. We propose a discussion with all churches and religious communities in the GDR to discover whether a law on religion should be adopted by the People's Chamber. Such a law could define and guarantee more specifically the position of the churches and religious communities in the GDR.

Comrades, all GDR citizens have—must have!—equal rights, equal opportunities, regardless of their nationality, their ideology, or their belief. This is a constitutional principle, which has to be filled with life even more in the future.

We must take care that our national minority of the Sorbs is really preserved. We also have to do something so that the cultivation of traditions and culture is ensured and that their right to participate in people's

representative bodies is guaranteed. We must not permit that because of elections the Sorbs suddenly are no longer represented in the people's representative bodies, for instance in the higher people's representative bodies. We have to keep all this in mind. Here we really have to clearly articulate ourselves as militant humanists, as representatives of human rights, and we also have to enforce our positions in every respect.

I know that evil statements were made in the past on this problem, too. But to this problem, too, pretense applied rather than reality. We must turn this around and not talk so much about it, but do more for our Sorb fellow-citizens and their development in the country. This means establishing the best possible political, legal, economic, and social conditions for unrestricted development of their specific interests and peculiarities. Let me make another clear statement in this connection: We have to act against any trend toward hatred toward foreigners. This is topical antifascism!

Therefore, we are also in favor of including foreign citizens who have their permanent residence in the GDR, and who work and live here, in all privileges for GDR citizens and—I do not want to call this a privilege—they also have to have the right to become a member of our party if they so wish.

We simply have to be serious in every respect about the struggle against nationalist feelings and efforts. We cannot isolate citizens who have such feelings and make such efforts, but we have to talk to them, we have to try to dissuade them. And we have to be very consistent in this. In terms of this question, we must not make any compromises, or retreat, or act in an apparently populistic way because there is perhaps a majority of people who thinks this way at a demonstration; in that case, we prefer to be booed before we will give up such values.

What is of essential significance for our country and its citizens is support for the Modrow coalition government. We must all be aware that it is that government that determines to a great extent whether our state ship will be able to steer past anarchy's reefs and not be swallowed up by the FRG, thus being in the position of again traveling in deep waters with a green light. That government, in which qualified personalities from five parties are working together for the first time for decades with full equal rights, is absolutely necessary to carry the GDR out of the abyss and to safeguard each citizen's right to work in the year 1990 and also in the years to follow. In a period in which the GDR's existence is under great threat, the coalition government deserves the party's full support.

The most effective thing that anyone can do for the government is to make his contribution to the national economy, including during extreme situations. We call upon all comrades to ensure reliability and discipline at the workplace of each individual, particularly if it is a case of safeguarding the supply to and the care of the citizens. We ask all comrades to discuss loyally the government's measures and proposals in their working collectives, without denying that one's own opinion that may differ. On the other hand, we expect the government to act sensibly, quickly and consistently. That goes for further steps toward protecting our currency, the work regarding the 1990 plan, and steps against selling out our country, especially when it comes to also opening the border in the other direction.

In that context we hope for and expect results from the negotiations between Premier Modrow and FRG Chancellor Kohl. We must urge that necessary precautions are taken in the struggle against lawlessness, violence, defamation, and in particular against opposing neo-fascist tendencies. That includes not allowing private justice against SED members, or former members of the Ministry for State Security, or any other citizens.

Let me repeat: pogroms are unworthy of a cultured people and a legal state; they require the strictest opposition and, if necessary, resolute action by the state.

As the last few weeks have shown, our government can rely on a broad consent among all people of good will. It is essential that the party boards in the bezirke and kreise help safeguard the people's chamber groups ability to work until the new elections on 6 May. Our party group's ability to work in the People's Chamber, as our party group's ability to work in the regional parliaments, is an essential precondition for the continuing work of the people's representative organs. Our party's group in the People's Chamber is instructed to influence the contents of such laws that must be decided upon by the People's Chamber until its new election and that have great importance for the country's fate. During the debate on bills, we will make clear our position as a party and as defenders of the interests of the people, particularly of the workers' basic interests, thus gaining an image during the election campaign.

Those deputies of our party group—let me put it differently—deputies involved in corruption and abuse of power must lay down their mandates, of course. However, those deputies of our party group who are criticized for such things without justification must be protected from attempts to make them lay down their mandates without reason, owing to political pressure and defamation.

There is no party in this country today that already possesses a definite state concept for the future—including us. Marxist scientists have started reforming the interpretation of state. The party can take that as a basis in the political process of learning. A nationalized [vergesellschaftet] state instead of a tutelary [vormundschaftlich] state is the point. A new pluralist political system can then be lasting only when it is firmly established constitutionally. That means formulating a new constitution. An amendment or a supplement to the existing Constitution would not suffice for such purposes. The currently valid Constitution reflects a concept of state that history has made obsolete and that is

distorted. We want to break with it, and we must do that. We must come to a politically new state that opens up toward Europe and that will gain its future within the framework of a European confederation. A new constitution should contain that which constitutes good Marxist and social-democratic constitutional heritage, and it should develop what is demanded by the grass roots and is capable of being implemented into binding and guaranteed basic rights and basic duties for citizens and communities. Those basic and human rights laid down in the UN conventions must be fully inscribed in the legal order of the inner state. By comprehensive legal and economic guarantees of the basic and human rights, an assimilation at the European legal level can be achieved.

Nationalist union movements in favor of a great Germany, extreme right-wing movements, or even fascist or neo-Nazi movements, must not be permitted to find a loophole in the Constitution. Racism and contempt against peoples are to be prohibited.

Within the context of the new political dimension regarding the Constitution are the preservation of the natural environment and a free development of the arts and sciences. Part of a constitution of a legal state is to anchor the mechanisms of publicity and control. Data protection must be guaranteed. Storage of personal data in personal files, medical records, and other files—if permitted—must be controlled in the wake of the public debate on the Constitution. When the constitutional law is violated, there must be the right to appeal to a court to obtain legal assistance. By creating a court for the protection of the Constitution, which must be independent, a new pillar of the constitutional state is to be erected. A completely new view on the separation of powers is necessary. We regard the separation of powers as a division of labor within the state based on law—which is carried out by the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary by independent courts. The people's representative bodies must become unequivocally the supreme state organs, thus guaranteeing the democratic nature of the overall state organization. For which other basic constitutional positions is our party striving? A new socialist constitution of the GDR must necessarily shape the sovereignty and the people's right to self-determination, and it must promote the free development of the citizens. It should include the manifold interests of different social groups and protect minorities. The basis for that are production conditions that are free from exploitation. People's property will have to be protected by the Constitution. In this connection, a concept for developing democracy in the production sector is on the agenda, with which the producers' function as proprietors can by achieved in reality. That is also an imperative element of the necessary economic reform.

As I stated yesterday, the party board—at least the majority of the board—supports all kinds of property, including cooperative, municipal, private and mixed forms of property. Foreign capital must be able to be invested on a legally secured basis. However, constitutional regulations must prevent the people's property from being sold out.

In its activities the party gives priority to a new municipal policy that is committed to the interests of the citizens. In the past even the most urgent requirements of municipal policy were disregarded. Those declarations and success reports were in sharp contrast to the real situation in the cities and the municipalities, that is, in contrast to the everyday life each citizen could experience himself. Valuable buildings decayed, the infrastructure was neglected, and ecological problems could not be coped with.

The key issue of the new municipal policy is to build up a local self-administration of the cities and the municipalities and to make a radical break with bureaucratic centralism. We again link the traditions of the reform of the Laender following World War II and of the GDR's Constitution of 7 October 1949.

The new introduction of Laender in the GDR will reduce the administrative apparatus, will make the people become rooted in their land, will share responsibility and will lead to more democracy within the municipalities. That is why we should thoroughly discuss that issue and by no means turn it down from the beginning.

The citizens and their representative bodies themselves have to decide on the development of the municipalities. That requires—but not now—that the cities and the municipalities dispose of material means of their own and stable revenues, on whose use they may decide themselves. Certain people-owned facilities rendering services, educational training, cultural services, leisure services, and other services should be passed to the ownership of the cities and the municipalities.

As early as next year a striking step toward far-reaching self-financing of the budgets of the cities and the municipalities could be taken. Our party group should immediately submit to the People's Chamber proposals on such a new shaping of the tax system. In our view, the tax revenues from the plants and facilities that are subordinate to the cities and villages have to benefit exclusively the municipal budgets. It would also be conceivable that centrally administered plants assign a certain amount of their overall rates as municipal tax. There will be further discussion on that subject.

It would correspond to the growing role of the cities and municipalities in our society to regulate their legal status within a municipal constitution. We suggest that a cities and municipalities association of the GDR be established. That association might understand its task as advocating the interests of the municipalities and as a critical partner to the People's Chamber and the government. Such an association of the GDR cities and municipalities should establish close connections with the municipal associations of other countries and international municipal organizations for the purpose of serving the understanding between the peoples, and mutual

exchanges of information and opinions regarding the present and future of the cities and the municipalities.

The rapid formation of a municipal political association as an advocate for the interests of all municipal politicians and all those who are interested in municipal policy in our party is suggested. It should substantially initiate the process of forming the will in the municipal policy sector within the whole party. By giving definite offers and initiatives, as well as a constructive exchange of experiences, such an association on municipal policy that is to be created should promote our party's activities in the parliaments at all levels and contribute to the qualification of all comrades in the councils of the cities, municipalities, and kreise. Great responsibility would certainly rest on such an association on municipal policy when it comes to preparing and implementing future election campaigns of our party.

Our party supports the government coalition's plan to immediately prepare a reform of the administrative sector. Many GDR citizens' weariness concerning the state is strongly reflected in the dissatisfaction toward the working methods of state administrators in many places. In our opinion, the basic objective of the administrative reform should be primarily to achieve a greater degree of closeness to the citizen, qualification of the administration at all levels, and to noticeably reduce administrative expenditure. That includes a high degree of quality and efficiency in the state's leading activities, as well as the employment of scientific methods by using modern data-processing technology.

We believe that a new constitution might earmark, instead of the current State Council, a president who should be an integrational figure for our country. I believe I even have an idea about that.

We need a law on the administration procedures that coherently regulate the rights and duties of citizens and administrations. Instead of permitting courts to check on decisions made by administrative bodies in exceptional cases, that should become the norm. Thus, legal security in our country could be noticeably enhanced.

The People's Chamber will also have to deal with other laws, in particular the law on parties, the law on party financing, an amendment to the penalty law, and probably there will also be a new law on criminal procedures and a new law on the People's Police's powers to be discussed. In all these spheres, we need more civil rights, more legal clarity, and a new beginning. The penal law must be liberated from unjustified political offenses. The law on penal procedures must extend the citizens' rights regarding defense counsels, as well as the right of the injured party and of victims as regards safeguarding their rights in penal proceedings.

Considerations on the recovery of the economy and on agricultural policy: The decisions on the future of socialism in our country, on the GDR's fate, are made also and especially in our national economy. The policy's flexibility to act depends on its productivity and efficiency. There cannot be a different approach. Our proposals on radically reforming the economy are aimed at reshaping the demand market, so far characterized by shortages, into a supply market, oriented to the needs of the people.

First of all, what is important is stabilizing production, guaranteeing domestic and foreign cooperation, and securing the supply of the population. We call upon our party's members to contribute to that goal with great efforts.

With the consolidation of the economy, important preconditions should be created for a radical economic reform. We believe it is of prime importance to quickly remove the disproportions between ancillary production and final production. It is also important to make the working people's capabilities more productive. The comprehensive economic reform requires the removal of support measures and rates from any kinds of industrial sales prices. On account of that, the economic units will be enabled to draw up their own concept for the further development in the next few weeks, based upon completely new calculations of profits and losses.

Such measures are the basis for efficient strategic work within the economic units and for a flexible planning system with its own high level of dynamics. We advocate making use of these results for necessary decisions regarding changes in the manufacturing structure. The point is to reach a change of structure in favor of such goods in which we traditionally predominate and that a high level of productivity and efficiency in our conditions.

In the same way, the real expenses and the national economy's revenues, calculated on that basis, must be confronted with the world market's conditions. Only by so doing can there be factually justified decisions on the increased participation of the GDR economy in the international division of labor. We advocate the implementation of such a change of structure primarily on the basis of property in the hands of society. The current stage of the scientific-technological revolution renders possible a superproportional increase of working productivity only if the national and international divisions of labor are quickly extended. We support the inclusion of enterprises of all kinds of property in international cooperation, corresponding to the national economy's requirements. However, what we do not want is an optional participation in international cooperations and divisions of labor. Priority should be given to our industry's capability of being innovative, the working class' level of education, the creative potential of our researchers and engineers, to put it in a word—translating our technological qualifications into economic efficiency for the benefit of the GDR.

That includes shaping the exchange of goods with the socialist and capitalist countries in such a way that more and more competitive goods are available for the

domestic and foreign markets. It is natural that interdependences will arise in the process. It is important to take them into account whenever decisions are made in the light of the GDR's economic position. Joint enterprises should exist not only with capitalist companies but also and particularly with enterprises of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We say yes to the common market within the CEMA framework, and we say yes to agreements with the EC.

A crucial issue regarding economic reform is responsible action by all economic units. It should be backed by a strong economic self-interest in high performances and by a high degree of efficiency of plant collectives. That refers to the market's requirements, the effective shaping of the reproduction process of the plants, while material and financial resources are used on one's own responsibility, up to further concentration. On the other hand, concurrently there must be a process of decentralization. There are goods that can be produced more efficiently in smaller economic units, whereas other goods need greater concentration, which includes the concentration of research and a new approach toward sales promotion.

Our party advocates the organization of relations of economic units of all kinds of property to the state budget by means of normative rates for real estate, real estate funds [Grundfonds] and claimed working assets. Thus, it is a matter of payments to the central budget and of payments to the territory where the economic units affected are active. So the municipalities' interests in enterprises' highly efficient production will be enhanced, while they are also more interested in an improvement of the social environment in relation to performance. At the same time, duplication of work may be removed, which is currently done by plants and territory organs. We assume that the performance- oriented principle must become effective without restrictions. A high economic performance is the precondition for maintaining social security. We interpret the performance-oriented principle in a comprehensive sense, valid for any plant and any facility, for any collective, and for any individual worker, covering all areas of society, without exception.

Our party favors a wage system to be established that acknowledges the working people's vocational qualifications, their responsibility, and the importance and output of their work and, from a national economy viewpoint, provides for reasonable wage differentials. An overall wage framework to be negotiated between the Free German Federation [FDGB] Executive Board and the government should, in continuation, be submitted to the People's Chamber for deliberation and approval.

The performance principle implies definite performance standards. A rule of thumb in this respect could be that the economic success of an enterprise or its products on the market be reflected in individual incomes according to a worker's personal share in overall performance.

The comprehensive implementation of the performance principle requires a price and subsidies policy that boosts economic efficiency and contains waste and speculation. Subsidies and rates veil and diminish an economic unit's performance and efficiency in all fields. They also veil individual achievement and its inherent claim to individual consumption. Such a subsidies policy is untenable, even less so with entirely open borders. Subsidizing goods and services adds to the sellout of the GDR.

We are aware that abandoning subsidies will raise the cost of living. to compensate, we propose that incomes be increased by the average additional costs arising per wage earner. Such an average wage increase would simultaneously remove nonperformance-related and, thus, unfounded shares in individual consumption. Performance-related pay will, thus, not allow for indirect benefits. However, comrades, all that cannot be done swiftly and in one go.

As regards children's clothing, a quick solution by way of increased allowances would be possible. In terms of staple food and service rates, it becomes a more complicated matter, necessary though something still needs to be done about it. And with regard to rents, it even becomes questionable. We are in favor of a broad public discussion of these issues, as far as they allow for more time to be spent on them, and we also support government proposals to be submitted. While we cannot close our eyes to reality, but if and to whatever extent subsidies will be abolished, it is especially our party that must struggle for fair social balance, above all, to be granted to families with large numbers of children, to pensioners, and to the lower-income brackets.

We need a new theoretical approach to shaping the future relationship between the performance principle, social policy, and social security. Our object is is to preserve the basic social achievements in the GDR. Unemployment, homelessness, and an underdeveloped educational state must remain alien to our society.

Comrades, let us become the party of struggle for social security and social justice. High economic efficiency, yes, but not at the expense of our working people's social security. For this reason we support strong trade unions and an efficient law of co-determination to be established by the future work councils. Despite its full support for the performance principle, our party in particular must not forget those who cannot or cannot fully live up to it. That is in line with our humanist concern.

In order to preserve and improve environmental conditions, all decisions made with regard to economic reforms, the structure of our national economy, the development of the territories, and both technological and product renewal must from the very outset be ecologically viable on a lasting basis. The reduction of energy, resources and water consumption as well as the

reduction of production-related pressures on the environment have become priority issues.

Of particular importance is the development of a new and both economically and ecologically acceptable energy concept that rules out any waste of energy. In our view, an approach to energy-management policy must be found in all fields of the national economy that allows for production to continue at overall lower energy consumption levels. Instead of its largely autonomous energy supply, the GDR should increase its participation in the international division of labor as a process of bringing economy and ecology into line.

The proposals submitted can be taken merely as the first steps toward, or as the basis for, the eocnomic reforms required. The reforms will have to be conceived and negotiated in a broad democratic process including the combines and enterprises, as well as the unions and the working people themselves. There is no other way to do it.

As regards agricultural policy, our party urges the establishment of the necessary conditions for effectively combining and enhancing the interests of cooperative peasants and workers in the country's agricultural production cooperatives, state farms, and other socialist agricultural institutions. The agricultural policy to date, especially since the eighth party congress, has failed to take the cooperative peasants' and agricultural workers' interests sufficiently into account. In particular, the peasants' control of their cooperative property, and thus also their responsibility and initiative, were increasingly restricted by the adminstrative planning and guidance regulations and instructions. The consequences of that policy and of their overall social strategy are the peasants' alienation from their soil, which was reinforced by the separation between livestock and crop production, and growing disproportions, insufficient automation, and growing exhaustion of basic resources, as well as ecologically inappropriate production and many other deficiencies.

The fact is that while agriculture has been able in terms of volume to comply with growing supply demands, it has seen its efficiency development decline and increasingly fall behind that in developed capitalist countries.

In further shaping cooperative property, equal economic conditions are to be established for all forms of property. What is important now is to exploit all ways of increasing efficiency through granting real responsibility to the cooperatives in managing their reproduction process. They ought to obtain full control of the soil they are working and of the funds, and by way of different organizational structures their members' awareness of ownership should be encouraged.

Our party backs the cooperative peasants' legitimate demand for improving material and technical supply. The 1,000 little things to keep production stable and moving, and a greater supply of spare parts and expendable parts are what we consider most important now. If necessary, the government should decide against exporting these items.

The gradual replacement of current agricultural production control by demand and market-oriented guidance with economic means is indispensable. Our support goes to setting up bodies representing cooperative peasants' and agricultural workers' interests against industry, trade, the territories, and the state. They must protect the GDR domestic market and ensure cooperative development. The exodus of agricultural enterprises in the GDR must not be tolerated.

The gains in productivity to result from the envisioned division of labor must be more consistently developed and exploited, first and foremost, by more specialized production within and among the cooperatives. At the same time, separate livestock and crop production is to be abandoned, however. In the process the preservation of well-proven structures will be necessary, in our view. Under no circumstances at all must the supply of the population become subject to thoughtless experiments. The cooperatives and the other agricultural organizations bear great responsibility for their villages and, thus, for the living conditions of local peasants and residents in general. The rate regulations should give effective support to this concern.

We also favor demand-related individual production, especially with a view to improving the rural supply situation, and we support its contractual regulation within the cooperatives.

No time should be lost in developing a concept for food management reforms. The key aspects, in our view, are overcoming our food supply's lack of attractiveness, choice, reliability, and quality and are cutting food production costs. The solution of the complex problems involved requires both boldness and level-headedness. The success of any reform will decisively depend on the creation of an economic mechanism that grants cooperatives and producers in general maximum leeway in deciding on both production and the use of it. The new economic mechanism is to be characterized by economic accounting norms, market-oriented and contract-based production, and flexible price, tax and loan systems—with appropriate prices—more than anything, being required to avoid disproportions.

In a period of transition until it is in full swing, state planning and contracting for a few staples will be necessary, in our view, as well as state limits on investment and state quotas for certain items, with a true market of production means to be established as soon as possible.

The combines and enterprises of the food industry and trade, whose economic interests must be directed at market supply, occupy a crucial position in that system. In other words, demand will be satisfied in the future through developed contract production. Transition to an economically regulated economy necessitates a new role

for the current bank for agricultural and food economy. It should become a business bank with all the consequences.

All of this is connected with a new vital democracy in cooperatives and enterprises and with regard to political, social, and economic representation of cooperative farmers and workers interests, their enterprises and cooperatives, society, and the political system. The FDGB will play a role there, but not the only one.

The quality standard of important food products can be maintained only if more technology is introduced in 1990 for the production and storage of milk, and if more refrigeration and other equipment are supplied to our own agricultural and food economy.

We view with concern the initial steps of some agricultural producer cooperatives [LPG], steps aimed at discontinuing as early as 1990 LPG vegetable production without natural and economic viability, which had been administratively forced on the LPGs. We say that in the interest of safeguarding supply, the location of vegetable production should not be changed from one day to the next. If a change should take place, then it should be only in coordination with the state authorities responsible for the supply. The government must create together with LPGs and the representatives of their interests the necessary material-technical, economic, and organizational prerequisites for the transition to vegetable production and supplies in an economically efficient way and according to demand. After 40 years in the GDR, we must simply succeed in having vegetable shops one likes to enter and leave with pleasure. The permanent change between apples and cabbage offered for sale does not suffice.

Citizens strongly criticize great animal production enterprises, slaughter houses, and plants for processing agricultural products because environment protection has been neglected for years. That should be quickly rectified. An acceptable way in this respect, in our opinion, is to discontinue to slaughter cattle for export that does not earn sufficient foreign currency anyway. The government should examine the necessary prerequisites for that.

In 1990 the economic and legal bases should be created for enterprises to work in accordance with the rules of ecology. Ecology must become the main factor of intensified agricultural production and the entire food economy.

Private trade urgently needs government support and promotion. These services are indispensable for the people. Support can be given through clear and simplified conditions for opening such businesses, tax adaptations oriented by efficiency, tax cuts, and—most of all—clear tax regulations. Limits on the number of employees should be lifted, and more just pay given to employees motivated by efficiency.

Our stance on the GDR's foreign and security policy: The current bureaucratic-administrative model of socialism has failed not only in domestic policy, it has visibly restricted the GDR's international reputation and foreign political ability to act. GDR relations with its strategic ally, the USSR, lagged behind urgent needs just like its ability to cooperate in this world of interdependence. The influence of the GDR as a recognized peace factor in the heart of Europe and the world community is in jeopardy. The radical renewal of socialism in the GDR will result in a new domestic policy legitimacy of the republic's international relations. Our party wants to make its clear contribution in this respect. The alliance with the Soviet Union is a matter of the GDR's foreign political and foreign economic existence. Today a chance is opened up for us for a community of interests and values between the GDR and the USSR on a new basis with equal rights.

Equal rights and noninterference are important principles of developing relations between our party and the CPSU, and the fraternal parties of the other socialist states. Socialist renewal is an objective necessity that no one can ignore.

Our own bitter experiences of the past week and months confirm the truth of the words by Mikhail Gorbachev, who said: The one who comes too late is punished by life.

The GDR should work on a basic change in relations among European states. The change should lead to demilitarization, democratization, manifold unity, common progress toward a cooperative Europe, and a Common European Home. A peaceful order in Europe requires cooperation and structures beyond blocs. Our party supports the alliance and acts for the politization and democratization of the Warsaw Pact. Only thus can the party develop to become a fully fledged element of the all-European security structures.

As a result of World War II and postwar developments, the German nation lives in two states and West Berlin. The two-state nature of the Germans has become an indispensable guarantee of peace, security, and stability in Europe. Only within a European framework is the necessary further development of relations between the two sovereign German states imaginable.

We proceed on the existence of a German problem as a European problem and the existence of deep national matters that the two German states have in common. Rapprochement toward a qualified contactual community must, therefore, be aimed at rapprochement and the growing together of European states in a common home.

A partnership of the two German states for Europe lies in the interest of our neighboring states and the world. It serves that never again will there be fear of the German hydra. No one should ever feel threatened by the Germans. An absolute prerequisite in this respect is respect for the European borders arising from World War II, touched off by the Germans, and particularly the Oder-Neisse border.

Full recognition of the European treaty work, particularly the CSCE process, the Quadripartite Agreement, the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, and the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG is very important. Whoever wants peace and cooperation must recognize these realities.

The future of the Germans lies in a united Europe. There are many possibilities for transition from community in responsibility, the current status of the two German states, to a qualified treaty-based community. There is no sphere in this respect that must not be tackled with constructive considerations.

Our party deems it urgently necessary to establish a security partnership. It would be significant to create different structures of cooperation between the two German states by fully safeguarding their sovereignty. History will show whether they will be able to assume a confederative nature. The treaty-based community must be related to political, economic, scientific, cultural, legal and tourist issues. What matters apart from economic agreements is precisely the issues concerning a legal cooperation and agreement.

It certainly cannot be the case, after all, that citizens of the two German states escape their responsibility under criminal, civil or family law only because they change their country. The case of Mr Schalck-Golodwkowski is to be tried and decided upon over here. Of course, this has to be done in accordance with the rule of law and in a fair manner. In this respect I can understand quite well the statement made by his lawyer.

The Salzgitter Registration Office, a relic of the Cold War, ought to be abolished. We are in a position ourselves to establish order in our country.

What must no longer be confused is, on the one hand, nation and nationality and, on the other, state and citizenship, although we have to admit that we, too, have brought a lot of ambiguity into these issues. Even if this question has still to be clarified, and even if this is to continue, then we immediately need pragmatic solutions for legal and official cooperation.

With a view to Europe, Berlin, the GDR capital, and West Berlin should develop communal cooperation in such a manner that they become a turntable of economic and spiritual-cultural life on the continent. West Berlin's inclusion in treaties with the FRG must always be on the basis of the Quadripartite Agreement. Those who now demand a special German way of unification that is not supposed to lead into a European unification are playing with fire, deliberately or not.

A greater Germany would be a victory for the rightists in Germany, and it would push the leftists, including the Social Democrats, to the margin of society, even if they do not believe it and even if some of their leaders now are confronting us, the renewers of democratic socialism, with distrust whereas they maintained close contacts with the former leadership under Erich Honecker.

We are no longer as strong as we were, which is why it becomes an ethical issue. However, comrades, we are not as weak as some people believe. We will rise again.

We are ready for partnership with the Social Democrats, and I have spoken about this greater Germany. Maybe sometimes we will even need an alliance. We must destroy nothing in this respect. Greater Germany, as the victory of the rightists, would result in a nationalist wave that would be intolerable for the European peoples. Following unification the rightists would immediately demand the former German territories in Poland and in other countries, meaning greater Germany within the borders of 1937, as is happening to some extent already. We must not allow the Four Powers and other European states to be presented again with the question of giving way to such demands or of not evading conflict.

If the border between the two German states falls prior to European unification, then discussions on border revisions will start throughout Europe. Peace would be seriously threatened, and once again it would have been the Germans who had provided the causes for a new European conflict. However, after two world wars, we Germans have a duty to do everything for peace and not to allow any destabilization.

It is precisely our party that must take a clear-cut position regarding this issue, even if and precisely because others are begin to weaken. And yet there is something else: Our working peoples possess only this country and these enterprises. We must struggle to preserve them for them.

We need the leftist German alternative in the interest of all German democrats, of the European peoples, of peace and stability in the world. We are in favor of broad cooperation with the FRG and West Berlin, as mentioned before, but we are fighting for the independence and sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. We are firmly convinced that we also have many allies and partners regarding our objectives as a party beyond our borders. These include the communist and workers parties of which not just a few are likewise experiencing a very painful—for some—process of renewal and which view with concern and hope the development of socialism in our country.

Our party sees itself as a component part of the international workers movement and of all progressive leftist movements. This corresponds with its traditions and its new approach as a modern socialist party. Consequently, it develops its relations, above all, with communist, socialist and social democratic parties and movements. We feel particularly attached to those who advocate a democratic socialism. In accordance with our geopolitical position, we feel closely linked with the European leftists.

We support the process of renewal of communists, of communist and socialist parties in the FRG and West Berlin. In this respect, too, our principle is strict respect for independence and equality. I want to stress here the

following: occurrences of dirigism and tutelage must and will never again exist. What has to be developed is businesslike working contacts at various levels.

Internationalism and solidarity with all progressive forces are irrevocable principles that shape the face of our party. We stand by the side of all those who are struggling against underdevelopment, hunger, educational misery, unemployment, and neo-colonialism. We will raise our voice for all peoples and wherever the rights of people are being violated. In this, the sole yardstick and starting point are the values and principles of our party.

We stand by the side of parties and movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are struggling for national and social liberation. Solidarity action means for us unity of word and deed. With a contribution of its own, our party renders political support and concrete aid to the solution of global problems of mankind, in particular to safeguard peace, for radical disarmament, to overcome the ecological crisis, and for a just international economic order. In this we want to cooperate with all democratic forces in the world.

Just as we in our country want to cooperate with anyone that cares about the fate of the GDR, we will take part in international dialogue with anyone that supports the solution of global humanitarian problems. Partners for us are all leftist parties and movements, liberals, Christian democratic, and conservative parties, Christian and religious forces, pacifist and ecological movements, all that will support the survival of mankind together with us. The most important thing is to preserve external peace and internal peace. That is the decisive condition for our democratic socialist revolution.

In security and military policy matters, our party follows consistently the antiwar law as the supreme dictate of the nuclear age. The continued existence of European civilization and of the German nation requires that both German states, in joint responsibility and within the framework of their alliances, impose an absolute duty for peace on the armed forces of their sovereign states. We direct our efforts at avoiding war with political and military means, and at continuing toward cooperative, unarmed peace without violence.

We are explicitly in favor of a GDR considering and treating no other people, state or military organization as its enemy. We reject ideological enemy images and education toward hatred. The constitutional assignment of the National People's Army ought to be precisely outlined on the basis of a de-ideologized and realistic threat analysis. We expect the government to join the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and come out in favor of swift results to the disarmament talks in Vienna. That could achieve immediate positive effects on the GDR's internal development, too.

As part of that development, we first of all refer to reducing military service to 15 or even 12 months, to further cuts in defense spending, which, by the way, would benefit our economy just as much as the continuing work of troops in enterprises and in the service sector, and to the presentation of a state plan providing ad hoc measures for the release of military capacities to maintain staff levels and ensure production. The People's Chamber should appoint an expert commission to that effect.

We propose that the People's Chamber adopt the civil service bill by February 1990. We propose the government makes the security partnership between the two German states part of the talks with FRG Chancellor Kohl. The defense ministers ought to embark on talks as soon as possible and maybe continue them on a regular basis.

A radical democratization of social conditions in the GDR as an essential element of preserving external peace necessitates a radical change of our Armed Forces. We recommend that the GDR Government include a military reform concept in its program and set up a government commission in charge of it. The commission should be open to all political forces. The military reform will consistently face the changes under way in European relations, which might one day lead to a demilitarized and democratic European home. What should be at the heart of that military reform, in the view of our party, is a redefinition of the National People's Army's function and position within our society.

As an army of the entire people and state, the National People's Army will no longer be tied to just one party. It derives its mission from popular sovereignty to be laid down in a new constitution. Proposing, as we do, the organized dissolution of the party organizations within the Armed Forces, we assume that the comrades affected will return outside Army facilities and join their local grass-roots organizations. Our party members within the Armed Forces will continue to perform their constitutional duties. Military service in the National People's Army makes sense only as a service for peace. Against the backdrop of changing external and internal conditions, military service and the role of professional soldiers should be entirely reorganized, and both legal and social security should be granted to all members of the Armed Forces, including those resigning from service.

The GDR National Defense Council ought to be disbanded and the Ministry of National Defense be reorganized in accordance with the principles of military reform to be adopted by the People's Chamber. Ecological and economic pressures arising from national defense are to be systematically reduced. The National People's Army's outward appearance is to be brought into line with the democratic awakening among our people by abandoning adornments and decorations and clearing away the military's ceremonial acts, including its parades of honor.

At an appropriate point in time—which will depend on the GDR's economic potential—a plain and useful uniform is to be introduced that does not recall any false

memories. As far as the parade step is concerned, we should take leave of our inglorious Prussian traditions, too. We would, thus, do not only ourselves but also our soldiers a favor.

In the view of our party, the military reforms require new interrelations between security policy, the Armed Forces, and science. Scientists and representatives of practical day-to-day work from all social sectors are to make their contributions. However, our Army must be constantly strong enough and ready for combat to meet its alliance and national defense obligations.

By the way, in view of the special relationship between the two German states, the FRG Government could, for once, be expected to consider cutting defense spending and military strength to our levels, rather than continue to be one of the strongest military powers in the world.

With regard to internal security, we are in favor of immediately establishing an intelligence service and a GDR service for the protection of the Constitution, now that the National Security Office has been disbanded. The intelligence service should by no means become very large and should be assigned to save us from unpleasant political, military, or criminal surprise. Only when all European countries give up such services can we afford to do without one too. We strive for a peace order of that kind, but it does not depend on us alone.

The service for the protection of the Constitution ought to be committed solely to averting actual political or neo-fascist and anti-Semitic crime. Other functions, such as protection from terrorism, or of individuals, and watch of public buildings, also those of other parties, and of all social movements, should be under the responsibility of the Interior Ministry.

A critical assessment of certain activities by members of the former Ministry for State Security and of their corresponding political assignment was part of my report last week. We now call upon the government once more, however, to make sure that all members of the former National Security Office staff find new jobs.

Together with all movements within our society, we strongly oppose any discrimination or persecution of those former members of staff or their families, all the more so, since under the new democratic conditions many of them are prepared to contribute to the renewal of our society as citizens of the GDR. Who wants to make them our enemies and bear responsibility for it, after all? It would contradict our idea of a state under the rule of law, if injustice done were repaid by fresh injustice or even revenge.

Our society owes respect to the way in which the members of the Armed Forces, including the Border Guards, customs officers, and People's Police, with quite a few of them working in the economy, have also in recent weeks performed their duties to our republic and its citizens. Our party will invariably support the interests of the citizens in uniform, too. In the wake of the October events, the People's Police has made an important contribution to regaining confidence. It faces growing respect with all political parties and movements today because it has palpably become a police force of the people. Our customs officers are in for a great deal of work, and their ranks have to be strengthened.

I will now turn to our relationship with the intelligentsia and to other questions. The intelligentsia in science and the arts has done crucial preparatory work for the renewal of socialism. At present, its members passionately bring their often controversial and alternative ideas to the revolutionary process under way in our country. In the past, the intelligentsia, more than any other group, has been subject to obstruction and patronage. It was exposed to repressions. Our party urges the establishment of the material and intellectual conditions for all members of the intelligentsia in science, technology, medicine, education, and the arts to develop freely their creative powers without any administrative regulations and ideological absorption whatever. Their work is a productive element of social progress.

Our party supports the freedom of science and the arts, the autonomy of science and arts academies, colleges, associations, and societies. Freedom implies responsibility, responsibility for the life-saving or annihilating consequences of scientific work, for the sense of reality and truthfulness of the media, for the decisive social influence of education, and for the system of values emanating from the arts.

We speak up for the development and support of science and for the application of its results to be considered a strategic social policy issue of utmost priority, and to be reflected in an appropriate concept of scientific development in the GDR. Increasing knowledge, developing and efficiently applying theories, conducting long-term concentrated research with divergent time perspectives in mind and uninhibited by short-term economic constraints, that is what we regard as elementary missions.

Science can meet the challenges of our time only if the financial and material background of its elementary research is ensured at budget levels that are in line with the priority position of science in safeguarding the future of a modern society and its economy.

This is why we hold the view that:

1. National scientific programs and projects are serving to solve strategic and social tasks. They must be planned centrally and financed from the state budget. Participation in international programs and projects should be developed and directed in accordance with our interests and possibilities.

2. All other ventures belong to the full responsibility of scientists and their institutions. For this purpose funds from the state budget and revenues from treaty-based research could be used.

3. Embedded in this we can see bureaucracy-free access to world science and a comprehensive exchange with it.

4. Economic relations of science with production and other fields of society should be settled anew for mutual advantage. In this connection, we deem it necessary that economic reform is conceived in a way that industry is being faced with a constantly functioning and strong pressure for innovation. Industry and academic research should be starting in the future from economically equal positions and conclude cooperation agreements aimed at genuine competition. A high level of cooperation can develop only if, above all, industry develops a powerful attraction for innovation. This also requires an enhanced ability of reaction and flexibility by industry in the sphere of manufacturing and allocating the urgently needed technology, as well as biochemicals and pure chemicals for research and training.

We advocate performance-promoting working and living conditions for scientists and that attention be paid to the specifics of intellectual and creative activities. What is decisive is the results. There should be as little definition and regimentation as possible of the road leading to them. Top-class performers in science, technology, production, medicine, art, and in other spheres must be treated as such if we do not want to limit ourselves to an average standard from the outset.

This is why we must fight, in the interest of our working people themselves, against tendencies of enmity toward the intelligentsia and of social envy. Our party advocates the preparation of an educational reform and a new educational law by the government in a democratic process of forming opinion. It is to include all those who have something to do with education and who are concerned by it: teachers, pedagogues, parents, children and young people themselves, artists and scientists, representatives of enterprises and economic institutions, mass media, parties and associations, social organizations and groupings, and churches and religious communities.

Based on its program, our party contributes with offers of its own for a socialist educational system to the struggle for consensus. In so doing, we feel obliged to the educational-political and pedagogical demands of the workers' movement, and we are making efforts to represent the educational interests of all working people.

Our party deems it necessary for the government to outline and implement an emergency program in the state educational systems that safeguards the functioning of all its component parts and fields, offers aid to teachers and pedagogues, supports conditions, calmness, and stability for pedagogical work in the interest of the children's physical and psychical health, and enables the gradual transition to a fundamental educational reform.

We want to help overcome tutelage and bureaucracy. The rights and duties of pupils, apprentices, and students to represent and observe their interests actively, should be expanded considerably. They include the work and right of co-determination of the representatives elected by them and the social public that is in educational issues. We support the formation of student councils and advocate political organizations for children and youth, in particular for the "Ernst Thaelmann" pioneer organization at the schools, and we support its renewal.

Laws, decrees, and state instructions concerning the work of teachers, pupils, apprentices, students, and parents should be reviewed, revised, or redrafted within a short period and they should be aimed at removing all bureaucratic traits. We favor enhanced rights of the parents' representatives. Special attention ought to be paid to families with handicapped children, who have to be integrated in society at an early date.

In the sphere of vocational training educational channels have to be reshaped so that all young people have an opportunity to learn a profession in accordance with their abilities and preferences. We support the further enforcement of the performance principle and measures that will lead to better working and living conditions in the educational system. We favor more differentiation regarding the payment of pedagogues and teachers, according to responsibility actually assumed and performance actually provided.

Our society must not and cannot waive its affection for the children and young people, its responsibility to pupils, apprentices, and students. What is important is the right to an inspired childhood, to shape our children's lives in a rich, beautiful, and interesting way, including the obligation of protecting them from violence, anarchy, immorality, and neo-Nazism. The basis for all that is the UN convention on children's rights. Part of the renewed GDR's features must be friendliness toward children. We simply need more ideas, not those boring public sites where the children play and which are everywhere of the same stereotype.

In our opinion, the GDR's family law must be reformed so that it proceeds much more from the children's and young people's interests. The young people are our future. We must pay much more attention to their interests, starting with taking their problems seriously, listening to them, and exploring reasons for certain tendencies before condemning them.

We must approach the young people and openly discuss all questions with them, even argue with them, but in a just, democratic, and trustful way, and not by tutelage and patronizing. The Free German Youth [FDJ] has broken its unilateral ties with us. The decision is to be made in which direction the FDJ goes. If it remains a leftist youth organization, those youngsters who sympathize with us and our young members may continue to organize themselves there. If the FDJ becomes a sort of umbrella organization to various youth organizations, as some people demand, then we should seek to establish a youth organization of our own, which might bear the name of Rosa Luxemburg.

Comrades, we simply have to prepare ourselves for such issues, because the development of society is proceeding very quickly.

As before, assimilation in the status of the sexes has not been implemented in our country, although there are positive signals, of course. In that context, true new thinking is necessary, too. First of all, something will have to happen inside the heads of the men, but also in the heads of many a woman, so that we may achieve such an assimilation in status on equal rights for the sexes. Please, let us not confuse that with equality. Women must absolutely remain women, and men must absolutely remain men, including their respective psychology. Otherwise, the assimilation in status will be useless. During that fictitious competition, the point must not be who can become the better man, for goodness sake!

We need a much more different approach to all the questions and problems that affect our women. Such a showering of certain social services from above is unworthy of that issue. There are many more serious questions with which we must come to terms on a completely new basis, and there are serious injustices. Single women with children are still at a disadvantage. All wage agreements in light industry, where women are employed in the majority, are much worse in wages compared with other wage agreements.

I can understand very well that independent women's movements are currently organizing. We need the assimilation of status in politics and economy. We should establish a working body for such issues in our party, because we indeed found out during our own elections how difficult it is to achieve that. If we do not learn that, then we will some day have to put up with a quota arrangement. I can already see it.

Our party advocates that universities and academies receive a legal status on account of which their self-determination regarding research and teaching is secured. We support the freedom of teaching, the election of all academic officials, and self-administration by the students. We need a democratic procedure for nominating university teachers, focusing on the candidate's scientific qualification and human maturity.

We support more openness in the process of permitting students to take up their studies, and to liberate the employment of graduates from bureaucratic restrictions. Each student should be offered the opportunity to apply for an advertised post. That would also be an important step toward implementing the performance principle.

Our party stands up for decisively improving the living conditions for students in boarding schools, for which local bodies should be responsible. Universities and academies, as places for mental-cultural exchanges, should be open to all citizens who are interested and should extend their offers for lectures and scientific debates.

The greatest efforts are necessary for maintaining the citizens' medical and social care. So what is most important at this moment is ensuring that the health and social sectors work and rendering efficient and practical assistance to doctors, nurses, and other staff members everywhere. We pay them our respect and high esteem, those who have often worked under extremely tense conditions and who have not backed out of their responsibility in this sector, as others have done.

We have thoroughly trained doctors and nurses who are working sacrificially. However, their opportunities to be efficient have been increasingly limited because those means and resources available to them were not up to date with modern medical developments. Good medical care is not possible without a high degree of expenditure, even internationally. That is why we consider the new definition of the status of the health and social system and increased expenditure for those sectors to be the crucial platform for future developments. We are in accord with the opinion uttered by leading doctors in our country—that a higher portion of the national income must be made available.

The topical problem is to overcome the serious shortage of nurses. That means wages must be improved. Furthermore, we have to meet the demand for medicines, consumer articles, and medical equipment, but also considerably improve the pay for doctors and dentists that accords with their special responsibility for the lives and health of the citizens. Those citizens who are older and who are handicapped must be supported much more resolutely in a practical way.

As regards health, its value will increasingly assume first place in the structure of the needs of the human being in life. Therefore, part of the concepts for a solidary and humanist society must be that socially equal and high-level medical and social care is connected with much space for the citizens' own active approach in the interest of remaining healthy. Medicine's future and thus an important portion of the future quality of life for the people greatly depend on the pre-research results. We reject any form of pragmatism that today doubts the importance of medical research or just underestimates it. We call upon comrades in the health and social sectors to make as great a contribution as possible to achieve those objectives by working exemplarily in the hospitals, ambulances, lecture hall, or the research institute.

Our party is also committed to the best traditions of the revolutionary German workers movement when it comes to cultural policy. Literature and the arts must be and remain free. At the same time, we defend the values of the democratic and humanist culture in our country against nationalist attacks and an ideological sellout.

We are for a coalition of reason regarding culture, education, and the sciences. We stand up for cooperation with the democratic and socialist cultural movements in

West and East Europe, and we appeal to the comrades in the media, the arts, and the cultural facilities to develop this cooperation.

Cooperation and partnership presuppose that we ourselves have something to contribute. Important cultural and artistic achievements, which unmistakably help to determine our image as the GDR in the world, are now subject to well- aimed attacks and irresponsible disqualifications in many places. What has been worked out with many efforts in idealistic and material terms is now in jeopardy. Our party believes that when we show a protective attitude toward such works and artists who created the works, then that will contribute to maintaining and extending our cultural independence as the GDR.

In necessarily taking into account market-economy aspects, it is an important task of cultural policy not to permit the market to become a threat to the arts. We believe that any government of the GDR, before and after 6 May 1990, should meet the expectation that there must be a continuation of making available necessary funds for the promotion of our existence as a cultural society. Not every genre of the arts can survive by its own revenues. That goes also for other countries, by the way. There are internationally recognized islands [as heard] that must absolutely be maintained, for example, the artistic documentary film. Our party calls for a great people's initiative to maintain and renew the cultural environment. The GDR's cultural landscape is our most important cultural possession. We want to jointly end the further decay of our cites and communities, and we want to come to an all-round communal cultural life and a complex aesthetic shaping of the environment by means of regional cultural initiatives.

The roundtable should also bring together cultural workers and artists at one place. Bureaucratic regulations must also be removed as the basis of the cultural sector. For 1990 we propose a great happening of the arts, aiming at documenting the considerable contribution to the democratic awakening in the GDR made by authors, actors, singers, rock muscians, and artists of the fine arts. It should be a wide and lively enactment of the new culture. In a multimedia exhibition of the arts, artistic documents, and popular evidence of the renewal could be presented to a wide public.

Authors, those working in theaters, popular artists, and other members of the artists' intelligentsia, with their feeling for the moods within the people, have contributed much to the articulation of the consciousness of society. For years they have been working toward a change with their important texts and descriptions. They will remain strict critics on new half-measures and illusions. And particularly, their toughest works may contain new proposals and strengthen the will to live.

Their artistic radicalness is related to our political reality that is getting to the bottom of the problems and to the core of the contradictions. In that respect, they are irreplaceable partners for us, but just as well because they are able to avoid compromises.

In the life of the cultural community, sport holds a recognized position all over the world. We regard sport as an indispensable, irreplaceable element of the self-realization and development of the individual. By its socially integrative and communicative function, sport proves to be a connective element between citizens of different ages, sexes, and social status. Part of the humanist feature of sports is that it is guided by the Olympic medals of peace, understanding between the peoples, mutual respect, and equal rights. Sport for everyone is the point, addressed to the needs and interests of the people, accessible to everyone without obstacles and with equal rights. It should inspire, as much as possible, each child and each youngster to join in regularly. Women, families, shift workers, the old, and particularly the handicapped should be able to participate in sports activities likewise, with sport being developed in such a way that it meets their specific requirements and definite living conditions.

Regarding high-performance sport, we consider it important, but no longer the very cultural achievement of our country. We recommend it be promoted in accordance with the opportunities of society, but we should not raise it to an issue of nationalist prestige. However, we resolutely reject unfounded attacks on deserving high-performance athletes of the GDR. The connection of money and sports is and remains an ethical problem, but it is not helpful to completely disregard international reality.

In a renewed socialist society, we do not understand the media as instruments of political tutelage and mental interdiction by any side. Modern mass media to us are the most important organs of cultural liberation and the speakers of a new public that has many voices.

They have to meet their duties as reliable informants and democratic partners in dialogue and, at the same time, exploit their cultural and artistic potential. It is only henceforth that, with growing international media competition, our media will have to prove what they are able to provide in terms of amusement, entertainment, and stimulation of creativity and imagination. Our comrades within the media should work for a renewed democratic media culture that offers a reliable socialist alternative in the German-speaking countries. Our party advocates dialogue and plurality of opinions within the media. All political forces and cultural groups must be given the chance to speak their mind in the media. It is with prudent reasoning and with free expression that we want to meet differences of opinion.

Our party advocates enlarging the media landscape in the GDR. The government and the People's Chamber ought to clarify their policies in appropriate publications.

With regard to film and television, we support the establishment of free producer groups and new program

sources. Private studios and cooperative associations ought to enrich the artistic level and cultural spectrum of popular music and video productions. The audiovisual media should be open to private suppliers and new, interested persons coming in. We advocate program exchange at an international level and film or TV co-productions. The GDR's cultural interests must be observed in the process, and its independent film and television must be granted substantial support.

We encourage the creative powers in the arts and in entertainment to move toward large-scale media entertainment that is in line with new audience demands and progressive international trends. At this very time of change, the cultural alternative to which we aspire should also be clearly reflected in the form and contents of the media. That implies more definite profiles of all existing program and channels.

The media can actively share in shaping a new culture at local and regional levels. We advocate democratic social control of the state media television, radio, and ADN to be exercised by advisory boards set up for the purpose. Our party's own proposals for drafting new media legislation and a new media policy strategy, which will also include new media, will be submitted to the GDR Government.

The task of our party press, particularly of the official party paper, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, and of the area party organization papers will, in our view, first of all lie with introducing the party's views of the most divergent domestic and foreign policy issues into the current debate, reflecting and stimulating the decision-making process at its grass roots, putting forward convincing party arguments in public dialogue, and adhering to them and winning over many more citizens.

In the current circumstances, journalistic responsibility is increasing. We urge a meticulous journalistic approach that requires fewer denials. False and insufficiently corroborated accusations can easily lead to the psychological destruction of the person in question. Post-allegation denials usually fail to compensate for the damage done.

We hold the view that the party press should also be open to carrying the stances and opinions of other social forces, not only to carrying, but also to debating them, however. We are prepared to make specific agreements to that effect at the roundtable and to make our party's publishing facilities available so long as the other movements still have to do without their own press. That gives proof of our understanding of free media as a right to public communication of all social groupings in our country in line with the Constitution and with a view to arriving at solid and consensus-based solutions for the further development of society. A media law and a journalist honorary council, as well as other social bodies, could create important institutional and social guarantees in this respect.

In the coming days and weeks, we expect our party members within the media and our party press to go beyond the consistent exposure of power abuse and corruption and ensure that the majority of honest party members are not forgotten, that defamations of party members are resolutely repudiated, and that the renewal process in our party and society are strongly supported.

Basically new demands and tasks will result for our party's public relations work. Therefore, the publication of the party executive board's press and information service is necessary, together with the appointment of a permanent press spokesman. The qualification and improved development of the publishing house for agitation and object teaching means is also necesary. The establishment of an advertising agency to assume complex party advertising must also be examined.

We fully support giving the development and characterization of the media a wide scientific basis eventually and the establishment of an institute for media research. Never again must the media be so far away from the mood of the people as has been the case in past years. Psychology and a language that is understood by all are necessary, most of all.

The coming election campaign for the election of public representatives will be a political competition, a struggle of at least the parties with programs, arguments, and persons to gain votes. Legal regulations for the 6 May elections are being worked out in connection with the election law. There are basic problems such as election of parties, or election of candidates, the involvement or not of other social organizations.

It should eventually be possible to establish a wide consensus in the People's Chamber on these problems. Since we are still holding roundtable talks and negotiations, I consider it premature to express our stance here and now. It is clear that we will most likely have to enter that election campaign as a party, and we will do that as an act of honesty. After all, a party is still something. We must distinguish ourselves through programs, arguments, and persons.

It is not yet fully clear whether on 6 May elections will take place only for the supreme public representation or for all public representations. That still has to be discussed in the People's Chamber and at the roundtable. One thing, however, is clear already: It will be a tough election campaign between political parties and movements. Our party supports elections in which the people will freely and sovereignly appoint their parliamentary deputies. In this sense, we are making our contribution to a new election law.

The highest mission of the supreme public representation to be elected on 6 May 1990 should be the preservation of GDR state sovereignty. In a fair competiton our party wants to make its specific contribution. The aim is a factual merger of socialism, democracy, a constitutional state, and humanism on GDR territory. We do not underrate what has been created by generations of the people, among them hundreds of thousands of comrades, in hard work and in difficult conditions.

That was not done in vain. I stress our stance once more. On this we must build the establishment of a new, humane, democratic socialism. This good heritage is in total jeopardy.

Our party congress has overcome old barriers and has released new forces so that we will make progress. As a socialist party, we particularly represent the interests of the working people in cities and in the country. As I said, we support in this sense an economy oriented by ecological standards, an economy that is effective and social. It must safeguard full employment. We want equal opportunities for all citizens and democratic social groups. It means friendliness to children, room for the development of young people, unlimited equal rights for women, support and care for the old and helpless. Our activities are aimed at an antifascist and peaceful character of society and at active international solidarity. Our party's election campaign will be dominated by these goals. The draft will be submitted in time for discussion next year.

We ask the basic organizations and leaderships to propose comrades who should be elected candidates of our party. These elected candidates must come from people and live with the people, such as workers and peasants who are upright, respected, and recognized, as well as proven experts from the economy, science, politics, and culture, for whom the same standards are valid, and they must be convinced and be able to convince.

Our whole party must fully devote itself to the election campaign. This is required by a party base that stands fully behind our candidates, that supports them at election rallies, that works for the candidates and our election program in the constituencies but which, because of this, must have selected them democratically beforehand. The kreis and basic organizations have the responsibility to decide themselves on which of the target groups the party members address themselves, in particular, during the election campaign and as to whom they seek to win over as voters for our party's candidates. Depending on the social structure of the people, these will be workers, peasants, progressive members of the intelligentsia, employees, young people and, above all, women. If we succeed in winning over a broad circle of women then there are good chances for us to hold our ground in the elections.

The basic organizations are called upon to back central election slogans with local political tasks. In connection with the election program, it must become clear as to what the particular objectives are that the appointed candidate of the party advocates in the local field. However, what matters in this respect can only be such problems that also are realizable. There must never be promises made out of wrongly understood election campaign tactics that later cannot be fulfilled. Populism must not become our ploy.

Our candidates must always have clear judgment as to what will work and what will not work at present. We need tens of thousands of comrades as interlocutors at information stands. We need them in the evenings as well as on Saturdays and Sundays at places where many people pass by. We need comrades to distribute leaflets and handbills among the citizens. Our chance is that we may become an election campaign team of 1.7 million members. It is for this aim that we must work now, politically and organizationally. In this, we also renounce West German election campaign supporters beforehand.

All election rallies of our party in the urban housing areas, villages, and constituencies can be organized and used popularly only by the basic organizations. Party members in enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions of education and culture should use all opportunities to acquaint the citizens with our election program via billboards, plant radio, and plant newspapers. The confidence-inspiring talk of a comrade with his fellow workers is of greatest importance, since the latter may cast his vote for our party.

All this requires tight organization. We advocate that the kreis executive boards increasingly define themselves as election campaign offices. We deem it necessary to form election campaign aktivs in the housing areas and villages that consist of members of the basic organizations and elected members of the executive boards who organize and coordinate all election meetings on the basis of the kreis executive board's plan for the meetings.

The declared goal of our party is to enter the supreme people's representation with a strong and competent faction. Much is at stake. What is at stake is the GDR in the first place. We must not leave behind us a political vacuum!

We are ready to assume responsibility for this country. We are open to a coalition with all forces that have the well-being of the people and the GDR's sovereign future at heart. We know that no party and no movement will be able to tackle the formation of democratic socialism by going it alone. We assume the duty vis-a-vis this country that is our homeland. We must fight so that no political vacuum emerges that might be occupied by rightist forces. By struggling for ourselves we are fighting for the GDR, for the social security of our working people, and for stability and peace throughout Europe. Thank you.

Gysi Notes Solidarity With CPCZ Leaders

LD2712160389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In this difficult time for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], reciprocal solidarity and close alliance between them are essential for the sovereign existence of the GDR and the CSSR, for the continuation of their cooperation and their alliance. SED-PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi emphasized this in a greetings telegram to

CPCZ Chairman Ladislav Adamec and Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Fischer Receives Japanese Official

LD1812163789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1258 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received in Berlin on Monday the chairman of the Democratic-Socialist Party of Japan (DSP), Eiichi Nagasue, for a conversation.

The minister briefed the Japanese guest on current aspects of the reform policy in the GDR and the foreign policy course to ensure the safeguarding of peace and disarmament. The foreign relations had to make their weighty contribution toward stability and security in the center of Europe. He emphasized the important role that Japan continued to play in GDR foreign policy.

Eiichi Nagasue expressed satisfaction with the policy of reforms. The two politicians agreed that bilateral GDR-Japan relations should be consolidated and further developed.

Portugal Hopes for Improved Relations

LD1312004289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0753 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Lisbon (ADN)—Portugal hopes to extend its relations with the GDR, particularly in the economic sphere. Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, state secretary in the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, yesterday reported on a corresponding government resolution to GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier, who was visiting Lisbon in the framework of regular political consultations.

The state secretary said that favorable conditions for economic cooperation were being created through the restructuring in the GDR.

In connection with discussions on unification of the two German states, the Portuguese politician explained that the stability of Europe could not be called into question. At the same time, he highlighted the necessity of adhering to the Helsinki Final Act. The borders on the continent should not be altered.

Fischer Notes EC Trade Cooperation Talks

LD0512095789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0918 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Negotiations on a trade and cooperation agreement between the GDR and the EC will begin in the near future. GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer stated this in Berlin today after a talk with Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EC commission. Cooperation between the two sides is taking on real forms, Fischer continued. The EC Commission vice president referred to the fact that in the preliminary talks, all the necessary requirements for an agreement had been fulfilled. There must now be consideration of the decision-making process within the EC.

Yesterday, Andriessen talked with Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Dr Christa Luft on the development of economic and trade relations between the GDR and the European Community. Andriessen expressed the EC's interest in the political and economic reforms in the GDR. The EC is committed to all that is happening in Europe, and it is, at the same time, open to all changes.

The GDR's interest in concrete measures for the development of economic and trade relations with the EC were communicated to Andriessen yesterday by Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil. The EC politician expressed support for the further development of relations with the GDR. This corresponds to the will of the EC Commission and that of the member states.

Kuwait Willing To Invest in GDR

AU0512155889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Dec 89 p 7

[ADN report: "Kuwait Willing To Invest in GDR"]

[Text] Al-Kuwait (ADN)—Kuwait is willing to invest in the GDR economy and to establish joint ventures without any political preconditions. Sa'ud Muhammad al-'Usaymi, state minister of foreign affairs, said that the only thing that is necessary is a legal guarantee for Kuwaiti capital. He stressed the right of all East European countries to their own path of development. The changes are not directed against anyone outside; therefore no one outside has the right to interfere, al-'Usaymi said.

Further Reportage on Romanian Aid, Relations

Restrictions on Exports Lifted

LD2712201289 Budapest MTI in English 1831 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 27 (MTI)—Goods deliveries destined for Romania are regularly coordinated in the Ministry of Trade with the other ministries and companies, it was announced on Wednesday at the coordination conference held in the ministry.

The ministry earlier restricted socialist export with various measures, to prevent a further growth in the Hungarian surplus which, in the case of Romania, stands at some 90 million roubles. The restrictions have been lifted in the current situtation, and companies are now able to make special deliveries on the basis of the valid foreign trade contracts and civil law contracts, mainly consisting of consumption goods and products necessary for medical supply. It is also possible to forward various products, mainly food, over the regular quotas.

The Ministry of Trade has contacted the Romanian Embassy in Budapest, and the Romanian Ministries of Foreign Trade and Internal Trade, via the Hungarian trade representation in Bucharest, to appraise the demands and to create the conditions of safely transporting the goods.

Difficulty Distributing Aid

LD2712173889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti has spoken to Julia Tordai:

[Begin recording] [Keleti] We have information that aid sent across the border, which is taken by private individuals or by various organizations, cannot reach beyond the borders of Arad and Timisoara. For this reason I tell everyone that they are responsible for themselves and are taking a risk if they go deeper into Romanian territory, beyond these regions.

[Tordai] Are these aid packages getting across the border without any hitches whatsoever?

[Keleti] Traffic at all the border stations is not being disrupted. So there are no obtacles on either the Hungarian or on the Romanian side to private individuals' aid consignments. [end recording]

So it is worth taking it to heart: Everyone assumes his own responsibility, and the situation in certain areas of Romania, mainly here near the Hungarian border, is not stable enough for private individuals to set off on their own. [end recording]

Border Guards Help Find Securitate

LD2712213289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] A warehouse in Szeged has become the national collection and distribution center for Hungarian and international food supplies. Traffic is continuous there, as Anna Juranyi reports:

[Begin Juranyi recording] The food consignment, worth 5 million forints, which was offered by the Trade Ministry, set off today. On the other side of the border, warehouse bases have been set up for the secure reception and distribution of this immediate aid, in Oradea, Tirgu Mures and in Sibiu. [passage omitted]

Close cooperation has developed on the Hungarian-Romanian border between the border guards on either side. They have agreed that they will jointly try to uncover and weed out the fleeing Securitate personnel. For this purpose, a standing committee of specially trained experts sees every person coming across.

This afternoon, it was decided to open local small-scale border traffic. Thus, those Transylvanians who resettled earlier and who wish to visit home will be able to cross with a local border pass, and those who live further away, with a passport for stateless persons. The council for National Salvation has guaranteed those who intend to return home that they will not be harmed in any way. [end recording]

Minority Rights Issue

LD2712174589 Budapest MTI in English 1603 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 27 (MTI)—On Wednesday, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave the following statement to MTI Hungarian News Agency:

On behalf of the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary welcomes the foundation of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania and that the organization considers the general representation of Hungarians in Romania, and the protection of their interests to be its task. The Ministry gives it support to the fundamental principles and goals laid down in the December 26 declaration of the Federation being implemented in Romania, and, to this efect, is prepared to cooperate with the new Romanian leadership, the Federation and all democratic factors in Romania.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Hungary is of the opinion that the revolution of the peoples of Romania currently in progress now offers a historical posibility, after 70 years of artificially incited opposition, for the interests of the minorities to be expressed in all areas in Romania, and for them to be enforced under lawful guarantees. It stresses that the conditions for enforcing the nationality and minority rights in Romania can be created only through a comprehensive,

democratic advancement, as the enforcement of fundamental human-civic rights and nationality rights is inseparable.

The government of the Republic of Hungary far-reachingly supports the position set forth by the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania in its declaration, under which the reassuring settlement of the minority issue can be ensured by extensive application of the right of self-determination and the establishment of its institutional frameworks. It stresses that the settlement of the fate of the Hungarians can be genuinely promoted by respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Romania.

The Hungarian government reconfirms its intention, which has been voiced on several occasions, that it takes a stand for settling and developing the Hungarian-Romanian relation on new bases. In this effort, it considers responsibility felt for the fate of the Hungarians in Romania as a principle that it cannot subordinate to any other interests. The development of Hungarian-Romanian relations is inseparable from the enforcement of collective and individual minority rights. The Hungarian sides wishes to endeavour for the Hungarians living in Romania to be determining and active participants of the approaching and friendly cooperation of the two peoples and the two countries.

Horn 'Ready' To Visit Bucharest

LD2712180389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Gyula Horn is ready to travel to Bucharest in the coming days to discuss an expansion of relations. This is what the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest announced on a direct relay of Romanian television. Pal Szuts stressed that the Romanian uprising has brought about the long-awaited rapprochement between the two peoples. He said that in the past 1-2 years, Hungary has received some 30,000 Romanian refugees, and the initiative for Laszlo Tokes and Doina Cornea to be given the Nobel peace prize came from Budapest. The Hungarian leaders' greetings, which were sent the other day to the Council of the Romanian Front of National Salvation, were read during the broadcast.

HSP Conference Discusses Party Program

LD2712201989 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 27 (MTI)—Budapest delegates of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] continued their conference, which broke off on December 18, on Wednesday. Participants discussed the theses of the HSP's Budapest election manifesto.

The manifesto mainly focuses on issues of concern to the population—economic reform and the self-governmental system. As noted at several earlier HSP forums, the party considers as acceptable an economic concept which accords to the interests of employees, entrepreneurs and pensioners.

It was reconfirmed at the Budapest party conference that property reform cannot be identical to the uncontrolled marketing of social property and people's assets. There was, however, agreement with respect to reducing the role and weight of state property.

With respect to the forthcoming elections, many contributors noted that the HSP should finally set down where it stands in the domestic political arena and whether it can be considered as a governing party or opposition.

A press conference is to be held on the Budapest HSP conference on Thursday.

Christian Party Forms 'Unity Platform'

LD1112150889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] The Unity Platform of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] has been formed. Zoltan Sipos reports on their session in the Jurta theater:

[Sipos] There is fierce internal opposition in the KDNP, too. Although the organizers of the Unity Platform supposedly were fiercely attacked, indeed threatened, the members nevertheless held their founding session in the Jurta theater. At the beginning of the aktiv session, which was conducted with rare expediency and resolve, the member of the KDNP leadership who was present read the letter from party chairman Dr. Sandor Keresztes, which was addressed to the district party leaders. In this, the chairman cautioned the organizers of the Unity Platform and the party members attending today's session that their grouping must be viewed as antiparty organizing activity, and thus the Presidium will punish the participants with disciplinary proceedings, if necessary with expulsion.

By the way, on the basis of the appeal and what was said, certain members of the party created the Unity Platform because in their view the current policy of the KDNP does not satisfy the expectations stemming from the party's name, that is, from the adjective Christian. Their objective is that the party become a modern election party which is able to strike and which functions according to genuine Christian and democratic basic principles. The KDNP has a (?sort of) right-of-center position. This is the responsibility of the leadership, which can be accused of collaboration, they said. Thus, the people who met want urgently to compensate this by pulling firmly to the right, but not as a follower of the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Shortfall in Soviet Oil Deliveries Reported

LD2812111789 Budapest MTI in English 1031 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 28, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Hungary will import 200,000 to 250,000

tonnes of crude oil and 30,000 tonnes of petrol from convertible markets in January for home consumption—a first ever for many decades—because according to official information the Soviet Union will not deliver the total contracted 518,000 tonnes of oil in that month, the monthly ratio of its promised 6.47 million tonnes of Hungarian deliveries for 1990. Instead, it will ship only 393,000 tonnes in January, Thursday's 'VILAGGAZDASAG', a Budapest economic daily reported, quoting official sources. It is official, too, that Soviet shipments already for this year will be short of the contracted amount of also 6.47 million tonnes of crude oil with 150,000 tonnes of oil, and 80,000 tonnes of petrol will not be delivered either. [sentence as received]

Soviet shipments supplement a declining Hungarian production, which will probably reach 1.93 million tonnes of crude oil this year, after 1,947 million tonnes of last year. Until now the Soviet Union was the only country from where Hungary imported oil for home consumption.

Rumors in Hungary have that the Romanian aid program is endangering home supplies of motor fuels, but officials quoted in 'VILAGGAZDASAG' said that if there is any shortage to be expected, that will be due to the Soviet delays and not to the aid program. Since last Friday, Hungarian lorries and cars, shipping aid to Romania, used up 20,000 liters of petrol and 30,000 liters of gasoil which was given free of charge, as a contribution of the filling stations to the aid deliveries.

* Alleged Fraud in One Voting District

90EC0167a Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Dec 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Hajdu-Bihar County chief prosecutor Dr Csaba Kereszti by Janos T. Rac; date and place not given: "Witness Testimony to Follow; What Took Place in Debrecen's 95th Voting District?"]

[Text] Witness testimony will soon be heard in the Debrecen popular referendum case of which this newspaper carried several reports. The secretary of the area election committee filed a complaint 29 November on the basis of substantial suspicion of criminal violation of the referendum order. The antecedents: a member of the 95th district election committee met with Attila Gyorfi, head of the district election committee and recorded his observations in the form of an official memorandum. The secretary examined the authenticity of the complaint, heard the other members of the committee then filed a complaint.

But actually, what has taken place in this voting district? Well, of the 336 ballots cast, 128 were partly invalid, while 12 were invalid in regard to all questions [asked in the referendum]. This ratio is far different from the 3-4 percent ratio of invalid votes recorded on a nationwide scale. According to information we received, insofar as "corrections" were made, those corrections would have influenced the ratio of "yes" votes regarding the first question. This appears to be supported by the fact that of the 209 valid votes cast 191 answered "yes" to the first question, while 15 answered "no."

[NEPSZABADSAG] Was the final outcome of the referendum affected by the events that took place in District 95?
[Kereszti] No, by no means, after all, following the complaint the results recorded in that entire district were removed from the nationwide evaluation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How far did the investigation progress?
[Kereszti] Quite naturally, we instantly took action to sequester all documents. We endeavored to achieve that only the law prevail in this matter. We invited representatives from all parties we could reach for the securing of documents, and we were able to reach all, except one. Thereafter we opened the ballot box before their eyes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is the future schedule for the investigation?
[Kereszti] We will summon witnesses in the next few days. We would like to ensure by all means that the proceeding takes place pursuant to the law governing referenda and the election law, as well as according to the requirements of the Criminal Code of Laws now in force. Also on this basis the suspect ballot forms will be analyzed by a handwriting expert. We will draw the appropriate legal conclusions after the hearing and following the presentation of expert testimony, but the final decision will obviously have to be rendered by the court.

Whether party interests played a role in the act committed will be another investigative task. The county chief prosecutor stated that the case will be handled on an expedited basis, with distinguished circumspection.

Further Reaction, Views on Events in Romania

Polish Press Comments

LD2712130189 Warsaw PAP in English
1117 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27—Most Polish dailies today carry the first commentaries on the recent events in Romania and the execution of its dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY stated in a commentary headlined "Freedom Wins" that "Romania has found itself in a situation which cannot be compared to any other East European country. There was no organized opposition, there are no people who could easily become the leaders of the nation, there are no well-known authorities on whom one could construct future structures. The Romanians are writing their own story. Each day, starting with the first clashes in Timisoara, they are adding new pages to it."

Labelling the system created by Ceausescu "a dictatorship," the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC organ TRYBUNA LUDU writes in part: "The applause of Western capitals, which counted on the dictator's slogans about independence and sovereignty allowing them to use Bucharest for their own policy in Eastern and Central Europe, contributed to the strengthening of Ceausescu, to the creation of the premises of his prestige on the international arena. The downfall of the Romanian dictator is no coincidence. This is the direct result of the processes of democratization and reforms from Kamchatka to the Elbe. In this short historical perspective, against what is taking place in Eastern and Central Europe, the wisdom is confirmed of the PUWP policy which with difficulty and pain paved its way through our party since 1956 to take shape in the cohesive program at the 9th congress in 1981 and next turn into deeds at the 10th PUWP CC Plenum at the beginning of this year. This road was not void of sharp turns and tragic tensions. But it is this road which saved our country, our nation from bloody confrontation."

Writing in the GAZETA WYBORCZA, Adam Mitchnik points out that: "The Romanian scenario could have happened in any other totalitarian country. The narrow-mindedness and fanatical blindness of the communist power elite, its inability to compromise with independent social forces, can always give rise to a bloody civil war. That is why we respect the Polish compromises which made for the peace in our country.

"As late as August, Ceausescu wanted to provide 'fraternal assistance' to our country. Poland's reply was tough and clear. The reaction to the threat of the Romanian gangster contained in it should become a lasting element of the Polish compromise in favour of democratic transformations.

"Today we can pose the question of co-responsibility for these monstrous crimes. At issue are the mighty of the world who acting in conformism and comfort, calculation and peace of mind, gave consent to this dictatorship, all those who awarded him medals, did not allow publication of critical opinions, praised for on-time repayment of credits and admired the state's internal stability."

PZPR Expresses Solidarity

LD2712212589 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27—The parliamentary floor group of the Polish United Workers' party (PUWP) voices its solidarity with the Romanian nation which revolted to overthrow the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu, reads the group's statement issued today.

We recognize the Romanian National Salvation Front as a moral and political force which would lead the Romanian nation to democracy and self-determination, it says.

We bow our heads in deep tribute to fighters for free Romania who lost their lives and shed blood and we express our deepest condolences to their families. Declaring our support and assistance, we are conveying 3 million zlotys from deputies' fees to the Romanians, the statement reads.

In the light of these dramatic experiences, we stress with all might the rightness of Polish political solutions that transform the system of wielding power in an evolutionary way, says the statement.

'Violent' Revolution Viewed

LD2712235189 Warsaw PAP in English
2246 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Dictator's Fall at the Cost of Nation's Blood"—PAP headline; by Wlodzimierz Korzycki]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27—Romania was a grotesque outcome of the idea which propagated human happiness. The Balkan dictator did not distort socialism but realized it consistently in tune with its classic instructions understood dogmatically.

In case of Romania the domino effect was not in force as in other countries of Eastern Europe. The hitherto regimes, either in East Berlin, Prague or Sofia, were linked with the pre-Gorbachev Kremlin. When Gorbachev came to power, the hitherto leaders lost support of the mighty ally.

For years Ceausescu had been separating himself from Moscow, either for good or evil, and he did not want to succumb to history's imperatives till the end. Therefore the Romanian revolution was so violent. Now it can be seen clearly how great achievements the developments in Warsaw, Prague or Budapest were.

In Romania there were no grounds for a smooth transfer as in other countries of the Eastern bloc. First of all, there was practically no pro-reformatory wing in the

ruling Communist Party. Ceausescu removed all those who were ready for any liberalization however slight.

Democracy in Romania had also lesser chances due to the lack of institutions to shelter opposition. In Poland the Catholic Church played the role. In the GDR, the existence of West Germany was such a point of reference and hope. In Czechoslovakia there were courageous intellectuals who survived repressions and had spiritual support in the Polish Solidarity among others. In Romania any slightest sign of disobedience was brutally quenched at once.

Ceausescu was perfectly aware of possible outcomes of loosening his hold. The top leader drew conclusions from the fate of his colleagues in Prague, Berlin and Budapest so he did not hesitate to use all violence in order to kill resistance in the germ.

The dictator knew well that "pollution" of people's minds is the source of any uprising. It is why one of the Stalinist axioms was, and still is, closing of country's borders, isolating people from information and contacts.

The year of 1989 will certainly be a historic one in the 20th century. Exactly 200 years after the French revolution the peoples raised their heads again. A peaceful course of reforms could not be ensured in all countries. This time sacrifices had to be great. Let them not be in vain. Let nobody think that killing the dictator is a guarantee of success.

Lithuanian Sajudis Delegation on Visit

LD2712125189 Warsaw PAP in English 1131 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27: A delegation of the Lithuanian Movement for Reform (Sajudis) headed by its chairman Vytautas Landsberg arrived here at the invitation of the OKP Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group.

The delegation is holding talks with the OKP leadership.

Rakowski Holds Madrid Talks With Gonzalez

LD2212100989 Warsaw PAP in English 2311 GMT 19 Dec 89

[By PAP correspondent Ryszard Ginalski]

[Text] Madrid. Dec. 19—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, now on a visit to Spain at the invitation from the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party [PSOE), was received here today by PSOE secretary-general, Premier Felipe Gonzalez.

"We arrived at a common conclusion that socialist and social-democratic parties, members of the Socialist International, should tighten contacts with the Leftist movement in our region, and especially in Poland," Rakowski told PAP after the meeting.

"Our interlocutors did not conceal their interest but also fears as to further developments in Poland and other countries of this region," he stressed.

Rakowski invited PSOE representatives to attend the 11th PUWP Congress and the founding congress of a new party.

Gonzalez, as a mamber of the authorities of the Socialist International, declared readiness to start talks with parties of the socialist countries, now undergoing sweeping transformations.

Rakowski also had a long talk with Julio Anguita, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) and leader of the parliamentary floor group of the Coalition United Left (IU).

Spanish mass media extensively covered a press conference at which Rakowski presented the causes of the failure of real socialism in Poland and countries of Eastern Europe. He outlined assumptions of the concept of a new party, to be founded after the 11th PUWP Congress, and also voiced great satisfaction over the course of to-date talks with the PSOE leadership and Gonzalez.

Asked to asses recent developments in Romania, Rakowski answered: "I have not been provided with full information on these developments yet, but if current mass media reports from Romania are true, my assessment is unequivocally negative."

Ends Visit to Spain

LD2212100589 Warsaw PAP in English 1217 GMT 21 Dec 89

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Ginalski]

[Text] Madrid, Dec. 21—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski wound up this morning his visit to Spain paid at the invitation from the leadership of the Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol (PSOE).

Yesterday night, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski delivered a lecture titled "Poland on a new stage", at the Pablo Iglesias Foundation here. The lecture aroused much interest among PSOE activists, diplomats and newsmen who attended the meeting.

During his stay in Madrid, the PUWP CC first secretary held a meeting with Prime Minister and PSOE General Secretary Felipe Gonzalez and with other members of the leadership of the PSOE which has been in power for seven years. He also met with Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) Julio Anguita.

During a press conference here Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski presented the situation in Poland. PUWP preparations for its January congress and assessments concerning democratization processes in central and Eastern Europe.

Orzechowski Favors Changing PZPR Leadership

LD2712132889 Warsaw PAP in English 1224 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27: In an inteview for Today's TRYBUNA LUDU, Political Bureau member and chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] Parliamentary Club Marian Orzechowski confirmed his earlier opinion that the PUWP leadership lost credibility. "A conclusion that it is necessary to make a generation change of leaders in the party, of course with necessary exceptions that only confirm the rule, can be drawn from this. In the present PUWP leadership there are also such people who have been members of the Central Committee for over 25 years," he added.

"If a new party, to emerge at the 11th PUWP congress, is to be a socialist party of a new generation, it requires new leaders. On my own part, I stake on a generation of 30-40-year-old people," Orzechowski said.

Rakowski on PZPR, Poland's Future

AU1212114989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, by Miklos Ritecz on 30 December; place not given: "We Are Planning A Unified Socialist Party—The Communist System Has Failed Its Graduation Exam"]

[Text] With its measures, the Solidarity-led government has a chance to improve Poland's economic situation, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said in an interview to NEPSZABADSAG. Our correspondent interviewed the Polish politician about the situation of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and Poland's future, after his talks with Rezso Nyers.

[Ritecz] Do you agree that the PZPR has come to the end of its historic mission?

[Rakowski] Yes, I do. Every political system has its beginning and its end, too. There is nothing dramatic about this. The PZPR has also arrived at the end of its historic mission, but it will continue to play an important part in Poland's political life. Poland cannot exist without a left-wing political party. We must win the confidence of the masses, and we will fight for this. In the past, we took it easy because everything was in our hands, and we thought that things would go on like this even if we did nothing to secure our achievements.

[Ritecz] What prompted the PZPR to relinquish power? Has the PZPR admitted the aforementioned mistakes, or it has been forced to hand over the helm?

[Rakowski] Election results on the one hand and an awareness of the country's public mood on the other prompted us to hand the leadership of the country over to the Catholic camp. I said Catholic camp because the opposition in Poland believes in Catholic principles. In addition, we realized that sticking to power could have led to unforeseeable consequences: A big conflict could have emerged. Besides, the old formation has become incapable of developing and has exhausted itself. Therefore, we were not supported by masses of people, like Mazowiecki is now. In an atmosphere characterized by a general lack of confidence, we did not try to implement as courageous an economic policy as the one implemented by the current government. Confronted with such difficulties, people would have set fire to the party centers. However, they have confidence in Solidarity, no matter what agonizing and unpopular measures they are taking.

[Ritecz] The success of the efforts of the Solidarity government could greatly influence—either promote or hinder—reform in Eastern Europe. Can Mazowiecki succeed in rehabilitating Poland?

[Rakowski] If we take the economy as an example, Solidarity has a chance to lead this country out of its crisis. We must also help the current leadership in this endeavor. Party interests should be subordinated to overall social interests. It is too early to give a thorough evaluation of the activity of the present cabinet, because it has been in office for only a few months. At the same time, I do not hide the fact that I would oppose a capitalist direction in development. However, I do not consider myself to be a tough critic of Mazowiecki. I am aware of the complex circumstances in which he has to prove himself. I agree with his efforts aimed at improving the economy. I wish I had such social backing during my premiership.

[Ritecz] The former opposition is getting hold of an increasing number of important institutions. The Radio and Television have recently come under the leadership of the current government. Let me remind you of a declaration of PZPR leaders made not so long ago in which they said that they would not give up control over the press.

[Rakowski] According to our agreement, four ministries are ours: the Interior Ministry, the Defense Ministry, ang foreign trade, and transportation. In addition, we also received supervision of the Radio and Television on a temporary basis. However, the government is justified in demanding control over these institutions and their supervision. As we know, the government has already made the first steps in this direction. We can do nothing, as the events have developed this way. Although the PZPR has control over four important ministries, it is the premier and his colleagues who determined the prevailing guidelines of the government, and not the aforementioned institutions. And these people are now coming from the opposition camp in Poland.

[Ritecz] The PZPR seems to be divided after losing power. Various trends are confronting each other within the party. What kind of party will emerge from the debates of the PZPR congress in January?

[Rakowski] We would overly simplify the issue if we considered the trends within the party to be only limited to a struggle between reformers and conservatives. It is not true that only the "July 8" movement is a reformer platform, and all the others are for marking time. Besides, despite the rumors, I believe that, together with the other similar reform platforms, the aforementioned movement has a place in a future party. I myself oppose the categoric division of any organization into reformers and conservatives. We inherited this kind of labeling from the Stalinist way of thinking. In my view, conservatism in itself is not something to be blamed, because, by its nature, man is conservative. There are people who are regarded as old-fashioned only because they stick to traditions. I do not understand why we should label anyone as such, because these labels are generally used in a negative sense in Poland. The preservation of traditions is an eternal value, speaking either of family or society. I think that an overwhelming majority of PZPR members support the thorough reforms. The party members have also felt the events in the past 8 years, and they realized that we should give up the old policy once and for all.

[Ritecz] Many people from the radical circles of the party say that Rakowski, the former supporter and initiator of reforms, has now gone over to the conservatives....

[Rakowski] I find such claims ridiculous. Nobody is a reformer just because he declares this everywhere. Those who present themselves as followers of a radical renewal today were still in kindergarten when I already took a stand in favor of thorough social and economic reforms. We are living in times in which everyone can be branded with something. However, nothing stops me from working for the creation of a new type of party. Besides, within the party, I try to refrain from supporting one platform more than the other. My creed is clear, even if I am aware of the fact that the communist formation I belong to has failed to pass the graduation exams. As for the party congress due in January next year, I would like to avoid what happened in Hungary at the party congress. We would also like to create a socialist-type party, but I stress, a single party.

[Ritecz] Chancellor Kohl did not meet with you during his visit in Warsaw. Why?

[Rakowski] In principle, because of technical issues, but also because of issues that go beyond that. According to the accepted international norms, premiers or party leaders—as Kohl is also a party leader—pay a visit to the party leaders of the host country, and not the other way round. Therefore, we proposed to have a meeting in the Central Committee building. Kohl rejected this proposal. He also refused to meet in one of the hotels in Warsaw. Obviously, by this, Kohl wanted to stress that I, as the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, am no longer his negotiating partner. This is sad. All the more so because, as a politician, I have always been active in improving the Polish-FRG relations in the past 30 years. I also played a role in preparing the agreement signed in 1970. This is no secret in Bonn. I have been belittled, and I find this unfortunate also as a Pole. I will not go down on my knees to beg for a due visit.

Public Opinion Poll Shows Support for Mazowiecki

LD2712180489 Warsaw PAP in English 1634 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki enjoys general approval of society, like none of his predecessors, according to a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Polling Center (CBOS) between last Nov 17 and 21.

During nearly three months of Mazowiecki's holding the post, the number of the polled approving of his work increased by some 5 percent. 94.7 percent of the sample evaluated the premier's activity as being in tune with the interests of society.

The poll has shown that the premier is more respected than his cabinet. The most controversial figure in the government is Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron with 48.8 percent supporters among the polled Poles and 25.3 percent opponents.

Government Outlines Stance on Cooperatives

LD1512235989 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 15 Dec 89

["Premier's Message to Cooperative Congress (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 15—The government wholeheartedly wishes for the rebirth of the cooperative movement but this is a role which only cooperative activists and above all cooperative members can fulfil.

In their grass roots, spontaneous initiative there is a chance for the right names of "Spolem" (Together) or "Samopomoc" (Self-assistance) to serve as sign-boards for the development of activity which once warranted these names. We encourage such activity. We see its manifestations. We are counting on it. Poland is counting on it. In tabling the bill on changing the cooperative law to the Sejm, the government was guided solely by a wish to make up for the wrongs committed on the cooperative sector by the state in the past.

The government wants to do away with the remnants of structures so-called cooperative but in fact being the fallout of attempts by the state to take over this so beautiful and useful movement.

We do not want to take away anything from cooperative members. We do not want to decide for them about anything. We want to remove traces of the bad presence of the state in this field which should fully belong to the unconstrained activity of a civic society.

Cooperative Congress Concludes

LD1612222489 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 16—A two-day congress of cooperatives ended here today after its participants adopted several documents.

While opening the congress debates, its presidium repeated its call made on Friday, that the delegates refrain from giving the debates the character of a confrontation between the government and the cooperative movement and from focussing on the criticism of the government draft law on cooperatives.

Participants in the discussion tried to focus on the matters concerning the [words indistinct] and to draw conclusions from a widespread criticism of the cooperative movement as well as formulate proposals aimed at its improvement.

Participating members of cooperatives suggested that an international conference devoted to the position and role of the Polish cooperative movement in market economy be called in Warsaw.

The congress adopted a programmatic-ideological declaration, approved of the assessment of the past activity and the state of the Polish cooperative movement and adopted the stance concerning the economic and financial mechanisms, socio-educational activities and the assumptions of a new law on cooperatives.

With 548 votes for and 418 against the congress resolved to recognize the liquidation of unions of cooperatives as indispensable. The congress spoke in favour of including in an appropriate law two liquidatory procedures, a voluntary liquidation which would be carried out by the statutory congress of the unions delegates to be called by April 30, 1990 and that envisaged in the government draft concerning these unions which fail to dissolve themselves.

Mazowiecki's Letter to Congress

AU1812175589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16-17 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Letter from the Premier: The Government Wants To Remove the Bad Legacy"]

[Text] The government that I head owes its creation to the "Solidarity" movement. Due to this fact, we attach great importance to those values which incline people to joint participation, and to act in unison.

These same values led to the development of the cooperative movement in the last century, and which later developed its own rich history. This was also the case in Poland.

The cooperative idea is still alive and has our great respect as a method of humane economic cooperation in a world governed by harsh market principles. The cooperative movement in Poland, as well as the other forms of true social self-organization, were dealt very heavy setbacks at the end of the 1940's.

Nationalized, bureaucratized, and forced into artificial structures of hierarchy, the cooperative movement only managed to hold onto a few of its original features.

Many years have passed since those days, and a great deal has changed. Although the changes did not altogether bypass the present cooperative structures, the bad legacy of the 1940's still weighs heavily on them. The government wholeheartedly desires the rebirth of the cooperative movement, but this is a task that only people active in the cooperative movement, and above all, the members of the cooperatives themselves can best carry through. Their grassroots, spontaneous initiative shows that there is an opportunity to develop activities behind the appropriate names of "Spolem" [Together], and "Samopomoc" [Self-assistance], which once fully justified the use of such names. We encourage such activity; we see signs of such activity; and we, and Poland, are counting on such activity. The intention behind the government's draft legislation which amends the law on cooperatives and which came before parliament, was to repair the past wrongs done to the cooperative movement by the state.

The government wishes to eradicate the remnants of these so-called cooperative structures—structures which in reality are the remnants that were left after the state's drive to nationalize this splendid and useful movement.

We do not want to take anything away from the members of the cooperatives, nor do we want to make their decisions for them. We only want to eradicate the last traces of the states' presence from this field, which ought to belong totally to the unfettered activity of the civic society. Anticipating that your congress will share this view, I wish you personally, and in the name of the government productive congress.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Further on Ceausescu Trial; Family Sought

Trial Described

AU2712122789 Paris AFP in English 1123 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Dec 27 (AFP)—The transcript of the trial of Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, and his dictatorial wife, reads like a surrealistic theatre script with death the denouement.

In the film of the trial, the accused couple feigned rage, astonishment, and irony, and occasionally showed signs of marital affection, as the curious exchanges with the prosecution continued and they slowly realised that execution was being written into the process.

The deposed president who, like his wife refused to stand throughout, also refused to reply to the charges of genocide, subversion of the economy, deviation from the constitution and abuse of power, saying that he recognised only the constitution and the National Assembly.

He did, however, accuse foreign spies and mercenaries of provoking the coup, and said he had provided Romania with great wealth and facilities found nowhere else.

Mr. Ceausescu described himself variously as president and as a "simple citizen".

The couple, who four days previously had been all-powerful, were addressed by the prosecution in the personal, insulting familiar form of speech.

At one point the humbled dictator, appearing to mock the court, glanced at his watch as if he were in a hurry to go somewhere.

The accused sat side by side behind two formica tables placed in a V shape. [passage ommitted]

Recording of Trial

AU2712142989 Vienna Television Service in German 1200 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Report from Romanian television of "secret" trial of Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena, in Bucharest "on 25 December;" in Romanian with simultaneous translation into German by Gudrun Gutt—recorded]

[Text] [Ceausescu] I only recognize the Grand National Assembly and will only speak in front of it.

[Unseen prosecutor] He refused with the same attitude to hold a dialogue with the people, now he also refuses to speak with us. He always claimed to act and speak on behalf of the people, to be a beloved son of the people, but was all of the time only a tyrant. You are faced with charges that you held extremely sumptuous celebrations on all holidays at your house. The details are known. These two defendants procured the most luxurious foodstuffs and clothes from abroad. They were even worse than the king—the former king of Romania. The people only received 200 grams per day, against an identity card. These two defendants have robbed the people, and now even today they do not want to talk. They are cowards. We have information concerning both of them. I ask the chairman of the Prosecutor's Office to read the bill of indictment.

[Unseen chairman of the Prosecutor's Office] Esteemed chairman of the court, today we have to pass a verdict on the defendants Nicolae Ceausescu and Ceausescu Elena who have committed the following crimes against the people: They carried out acts that are incompatible with human dignity and social thinking; they acted in a despotic and criminal way; they destroyed the people whose leaders they claimed to be. Because of the crimes they committed against the people, I plead, on behalf of the victims of these two tyrants, for the death sentence for the two defendants. The bill of indictment contains the following points: Genocide, in accordance with Article 356 of the Panel code; armed attack on the people and the state power, in accordance with Article 163 of the Penal Code; the destruction of buildings and state institutions; undermining of the national economy, in accordance with Article 165 and 145 of the Penal Code. They obstructed the normal process of the economy.

[Prosecutor] Did you hear the charges? Have you understood them?

[Ceausescu] I will not answer; I will only answer questions before the Grand National Assembly. I do not recognize this court. The charges are incorrect, and I will not answer a single question here.

[Prosecutor] Note: He does not recognize the points mentioned in the bill of indictment.

[Ceausescu] I will not sign anything.

[Prosecutor] This situation is known. The catastrophic situation of the country is known all over the world. Every honest citizen who worked hard here until 22 December knows that we do not have medicines, that you two have killed children and other people in this way, that there is nothing to eat, no heating, no electricity.

[Gutt] Elena and Nicolae reject this.

[Gutt] Another question to Ceausescu: Who ordered the bloodbath in Timisoara? Ceausescu refuses to answer.

[Prosecutor] Who gave the order to shoot in Bucharest, for instance?

[Ceausescu] I do not answer.

[Prosecutor] Who ordered to shoot into the crowd? Tell us!

[Gutt] At that moment Elena says to Nicolae: Forget about them. You see, there is no use in talking to these people.

[Prosecutor] To Ceausescu: Do you not know anything about the order to shoot?

[Gutt] Nicolae reacts with astonishment. There is still shooting going on, the prosecutor says. Fanatics, whom you are paying. They are shooting at children, and are shooting arbitrarily into the apartments. Who are these fanatics? Are they the people, or are you paying them?

[Ceausescu] I will not answer. I will not answer any questions. Not a single shot was fired in the Palace Square. Not a single shot. No one was shot.

[Prosecutor] By now there have been 34 casualties.

[Gutt] And she says cynically: Look, and that they are calling genocide.

[Prosecutor] In all district capitals, which you grandly called municipalities, there is shooting going on. The people were slaves. The entire intelligentsia of the country ran away. No one wanted to do anything for you anymore.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr President, I would like to know something: The accused should tell us who the mercenaries are, who pays them, and who brought them into the country.

[Prosecutor] Yes. Accused, answer.

[Ceausescu] I will not say anything more. I will only speak in front of the Grand National Assembly.

[Gutt] Elena keeps whispering something to him. As a result, the prosecutor says: Elena has always been talkative, but otherwise she does not know much. I have observed that she is not even able to read correctly, but she calls herself a university graduate. Elena answers: The intellectuals of this country should hear you—you and your colleagues. The prosecutor cites all academic titles she has always claimed to have.

[Elena Ceausescu] The intelligentsia of the country will hear what you are accusing us of.

[Prosecutor] Nicolae Ceausescu should tell us why he does not answer our questions. What prevents him from doing so?

[Ceausescu] I will answer any question, but only at the Grand National Assembly, before the representatives of the workers class. Tell the people that I will answer all their questions. All the world should know what is going on here. I only recognize the workers class and the Grand National Assembly—no one else.

[Gutt] The prosecutor says: The world already knows what has happened here.

I will not answer you putschists, Ceausescu says.

[Prosecutor] The Grand National Assembly has been dissolved.

[Ceausescu] This is not possible. No one can dissolve the National Assembly.

[Prosecutor] We now have another leading organ. The National Salvation Front is now our supreme body.

[Ceausescu] No one recognizes that entity. That is why the people are fighting all over the country. This gang will be destroyed. They organized the putsch.

[Prosecutor] The people are fighting against you, not against the new forum.

[Ceausescu] No, the people are fighting for freedom and against the new forum. I do not recognize this court!

[Prosecutor] Why do you think that people are fighting today? What do you think?

[Ceausescu] As I said before, the people are fighting for their freedom and against this putsch, against this usurpation. The putsch was organized from abroad. I do not recognize this court. I will not answer any more. I am now talking to you as a simple citizen, and I hope that you will tell the truth. I hope that you do not also work for the foreigners and for the destruction of Romania.

[Gutt] The prosecutor asks the counsel for the defense to ask Ceausescu whether he knows that he is no longer president of the country and that Elena Ceausescu has also lost all her official state functions, and that the government has been dissolved.

The prosecutor wants to find out on which basis the trial can be continued. It must be cleared up whether Ceausescu wants to, should, must, or can answer at all. At the moment the situation is rather ur certain.

Now the counsel for the defense, who was appointed by the court, asks whether Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu know the aforementioned facts—that he is no longer president, that she has lost all official functions. He answers: I am the president of Romania and I am the commander in chief of the Romanian Army. No one can deprive me of these functions.

[Prosecutor] You are not the commander in chief of our Army.

[Ceausescu] I do not recognize you. I am talking to you as a simple citizen at the least, as simple citizens, and I tell you that I am the president of Romania.

[Prosecutor] What are you really?

[Ceausescu] I repeat that I am the president of Romania and the commander in chief of the Romanian Army. I am the president of the people. I will not speak with you provocateurs anymore, and I will not speak with the organizers of the putsch and with the mercenaries. I have nothing to do with them.

[Prosecutor] Yes, but you are paying the mercenaries.

[Gutt] No, no, he says. And Elena says: It is incredible what they are inventing, incredible.

[Prosecutor] Please, make a note: Ceausescu does not recognize the new legal structures of power of the country. He still considers himself to be the country's president and commander in chief of the Army.

Why did you ruin the country so much? Why did you export everything? Why did you make the peasants starve? The produce that the peasants grew was exported, and the peasants came from the most remote provinces to Bucharest and to other cities in order to buy bread. They cultivated the soil in line with your valuable orders and had nothing to eat. Why did you starve the people?

[Ceausescu] I will not answer this question. As a simple citizen, I tell you the following: For the first time I guaranteed that every peasant receives 200 kg of wheat per person, not per family, and that he is entitled to more. It is a lie that I made the people starve. A lie, a lie to my face. This shows how little patriotism there is, how many treasonable offenses were committed.

[Prosecutor] You claim to have taken measures so that every peasant is entitled to 200 kg wheat. Why then do the peasants buy their bread in Bucharest?

[Gutt] The prosecutor quotes Ceausescu, Ceausescu's program.

[Prosecutor] We have wonderful programs. Paper is patient. However, why are your programs not implemented? You have destroyed the Romanian villages and the Romanian soil. What do you say as a citizen?

[Ceausescu] As a citizen, as a simple citizen, I tell you the following: At no point was there such an upswing, so much construction, so much consolidation in the Romanian provinces. I guaranteed that every village has its schools, hospitals, and doctors. I have done everything to create a decent and rich life for the people in the country, like in no other country in the world.

[Gutt] Next question by the prosecutor:

[Prosecutor] We have always spoken of equality. We are all equal. Everybody should be paid according to his performance. We finally saw your villa on television—the golden plates from which you ate, the foodstuffs that you had imported, the luxurious celebrations, and pictures from these celebrations.

[Elena Ceausescu] Incredible. We live in a normal apartment, just like every other citizen. We have ensured an apartment for every citizen through corresponding laws.

[Prosecutor] You had palaces.

[Ceausescu] No, we had no palaces. The palaces belong to the people.

[Gutt] The prosecutor agrees, but stresses that they lived in them while the people suffered.

[Prosecutor] Children cannot even buy simple candy, and you are living in the palaces of the people.

[Ceausescu] Is it possible that we are facing such charges?

[Prosecutor] Let us now talk about the accounts in Switzerland, Mr Ceausescu. What about the accounts?

[Elena Ceausescu] Accounts in Switzerland? Furnish proof!

[Ceausescu] We had no account in Switzerland. Nobody has opened an account. This shows again how false the charges are. What defamation, what provocations! This was a coup d'etat!

[Prosecutor] Well, Mr defendant, if you had no accounts in Switzerland, will you sign a statement confirming that the money that may be in Switzerland should be transferred to the Romanian state, the state bank.

[Ceausescu] We will discuss this before the Grand National Assembly. I will not say anything here. This is a vulgar provocation.

[Prosecutor] Will you sign the statement now or not?

[Ceausescu] No, no. I have no statement to make, and I will not sign one.

[Prosecutor] Note the following: The defendant refuses to sign this statement. The defendant has not recognized us. He also refuses to recognize the new forum.

[Ceausescu] I do not recognize this new forum.

[Prosecutor] So you know the new forum. You have information about it.

[Gutt] Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu state: Well, you told us about it. You told us about it here.

[Ceausescu] Nobody can change the state structures. This is not possible. Usurpers have been punished severely during the past centuries in Romania's history. Nobody has the right to abolish the Grand National Assembly.

[Gutt] The prosecutor turns to Elena: You have always been wiser and more willing to talk. You were the most important aide, the number two in the cabinet, in the government.

[Prosecutor] Did you know about the genocide in Timisoara?

[Elena Ceausescu] What genocide? By the way, I will not answer any more questions.

[Prosecutor] Did you know about the genocide or did you, as a chemist, only deal with polymers? You as a scientist, did you know about it?

[Gutt] Here Nicolae Ceausescu steps in and defends her.

[Ceausescu] Her scientific papers were published abroad!

[Prosecutor] And who wrote the papers for you, Elena?

[Elena Ceaucescu] Such impudence! I am a member and the chairwoman of the Academy of Sciences. You cannot talk to me in such a manner!

[Prosecutor] That is to say, as a deputy prime minister you did not know about the genocide?

[Gutt] He defends her again.

[Ceausescu] She was not a deputy prime minister, but the first deputy prime minister!

[Prosecutor] This is how you worked with the people and exercised your functions! But who gave the order to shoot? Answer this question!

[Elena Ceausescu] I will not answer. I told you right at the beginning that I will not answer a single question.

[Ceausescu] You as officers should know that the government cannot give the order to shoot.

[Prosecuter] But those who shot at the young people were security men, the terrorists.

[Gutt] Elena Ceausescu explains.

[Elena Ceausescu] The terrorists are from Securitate.

[Prosecutor] The terrorists are from Securitate?

[Elena Ceausescu] Yes.

[Prosecutor] And who heads Securitate?

Another question...

[Elena Ceausescu] No, I have not given an answer. This was only information for you as citizens.

[Ceausescu] I want to tell you as citizens that in Bucharest...

[Gutt] He is interrupted by the prosecutor.

[Prosecutor] We are finished with you. You need not say anything else. The next question is: How did General Milea die? Was he shot? And by whom?

[Elena Ceausescu] Ask the doctors and the people, but not me!

[Ceausescu] I will ask you a counterquestion. Why do you not put the question like this: Why did General Milea commit suicide?

[Prosecutor] What induced him to commit suicide? You called him a traitor. This was the reason for his suicide.

[Ceausescu] The traitor Milea committed suicide.

[Prosecutor] Why did you not bring him to trial and have him sentenced?

[Ceausescu] His criminal acts were only discovered after he had committed suicide.

[Prosecutor] What were his criminal acts?

[Ceausescu] He did not urge his unit to do their patriotic duty.

[Gutt] Ceausescu explains in detail that he only learned from his officers that General Milea had committed suicide. The prosecutor interrupts him:

[Prosecutor] You have always been more talkative than your colleague. However, she has always been at your side and apparently provided you with the necessary information. However, we should talk here openly and sincerely, as befits intellectuals. For, after all, both of you are members of the Academy of Sciences.

Now tell us, please, what money was used to pay for your publications abroad—the selected works of Nicolae Ceausescu and the scientific works of the so-called Academician Elena Ceausescu.

[Gutt] Elena says: So-called, so-called. Now they have even taken away all our titles.

[Prosecutor] Once again, back to General Milea. You said that he had not obeyed your orders. What orders?

[Ceausescu] I will only answer to the Grand National Assembly. There I will talk about the manner in which he betrayed his fatherland.

[Prosecutor] Please, ask Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu whether they have ever had a mental illness.

[?Ceausescu] What? Why are you asking us?

[Prosecutor] Whether you have ever had a mental illness.

[?Ceausescu] What an obscene provocation.

[Prosecutor] This would serve your defense. If you had had a mental illness and admitted this, you would not be responsible for your actions.

[?Elena Ceausescu] How can one tell us something like this? How can one say someting like this?

[Ceausescu] I do not recognize the court.

[Prosecutor] You have never been able to hold a dialogue with the people. You were not used to talking to the people. You held monologues and the people had to applaud, like in the rituals of tribal people, and today you are acting in the same megalomaniac way.

Now we are making a last attempt. Do you want to sign this statement?

[Ceausescu] No, no we will not sign. And I also do not recognize the counsel for the defense.

[Prosecutor] Please, make a note: Nicolae Ceausescu refuses to cooperate with the court-appointed counsel for the defense.

[Elena Ceausescu] We will not sign any statement. We will speak only at the National Assembly, because we

have worked hard for the people all our lives. We have sacrificed all our lives to the people, and we will not betray our people here.

[Gutt] The court notes that the investigations have been concluded. Then follows the reading of the indictment.

[Prosecutor] Mr Chairman, we find the two accused guilty of having committed criminal actions according to the following articles of the penal code: Articles 162, 163, 165, and 357. Because of this indictment, I call for the death sentence and the impounding of the entire property of the two accused.

[Gutt] The counsel for the defense now takes the floor and informs the Ceausescus once again that they have the right to defense and that they should accept this right. The court-appointed counsel for the defense says that he, as the counsel for the defense, has the duty to defend anyone, regardless of the acts committed by the accused, but every accused person is defended only within the framework of the laws.

[Counsel for the defense] Even though he—like her—committed insane acts, we want to defend them. We want a legal trial. Only a president who is still confirmed in his position can demand to speak at the Grand National Assembly. If he no longer has a certain function, he cannot demand anything at all. Then he is treated like a normal citizen. Since the old government has been dissolved and Ceausescu has lost his functions, he no longer has the right to be treated as the president. Please make note that here it has been stated that all legal regulations have been observed, that this is a legal trial. Therefore, it is a mistake for the two accused to refuse to cooperate with us. This is a legal trial, and I honor them by defending them.

You claimed at the beginning—Ceausescu claimed—that it is a provocation to be asked whether he was sick. He refused to undergo a psychiatric examination. However, there is a difference between real sickness that must be treated and mental insanity which leads to corresponding actions, but which is denied by the person in question. You have acted in a very irresponsible manner, you led the country to the verge of ruin, and you will be convicted on the basis of the points contained in the bill of indictment. You are guilty of these offenses even if you do not want to admit it. Despite this, I ask the court to reach a decision which we will later be able to justify. We must not allow the slightest impression of illegality to emerge. Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu should be punished according to the proceedings of a real legal trial.

The two defendants should also know that they are entitled to a counsel for defense, even if they reject it. It should be stated once and for all that this military court is absolutely legal and that the former positions of the two Ceausescus are no longer valid. However, they will be indicted and a sentence will be passed on the basis of the new legal system. They are not only accused of offenses committed during the past few days, but of offenses committed during the past 25 years. We have sufficient data on this period. I ask the court, as the plaintiff, to take note that proof has been furnished for all these points, that the two have committed the offenses mentioned. Finally, I would like to refer once more to the genocide; the numerous killings carried out during the past few days. Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu must be held fully responsible for this. I now ask the court to pass a verdict on the basis of the law, because everybody must receive due punishment for the offenses he has committed.

[Gutt] The final speech of the prosecutor follows:

[Prosecutor] It is very difficult for us to act, to pass a verdict on people who even now do not want to admit to the criminal offenses that they have committed over the past 25 years as well as admit to the genocide, in Timisoara, Bucharest and other aress—but primarily to the criminal offenses committed during the past 25 years. This demonstrates their lack of understanding. They not only deprived the people of heating, electricity, and foodstuffs, they also tyrannized the soul of the Romanian people. They not only killed children, young people, and adults in Timisoara and Bucharest, but they allowed Securitate members to wear military uniforms to create the impression among the people that the Army is against them. They wanted to separate the people from the Army. They used to fetch people from orphan's homes or from abroad whom they trained in special institutions to become murderers of their own people. You were so impertinent as to cut off oxygen lines in hospitals, and to shoot people in their hospital beds. The Securitate had hidden food reserves on which Bucharest could have survived for months; the whole of Bucharest.

[Gutt] Who are they talking about, Elena asks.

[Prosecutor] So far, they have always claimed that we have built this country, we have paid our debts, but with this they bled the country to death and have hoarded enough money to ensure their escape. You need not admit your mistakes, mister. In 1947, we assumed power, but under completely different circumstances. In 1947, King Michael showed more dignity than you; and you might perhaps have achieved the understanding of the Romanian people if you would have admitted your guilt. You should have stayed in Iran.

[Gutt] In response, the two laugh and she says: We will not stay abroad. This is our home.

Ceausescu is accused of having never understood what was important in this country, of having never understood the people, and, of course, he does not understand the seriousness of the current situation, either.

[Prosecutor] Esteemed Mr Chairman, I have been one of those who, as a lawyer, would have liked to oppose the death sentence, because it is inhumane. But we are not talking about people. I would not call for the death sentence, but it would be incomprehensible for the Romanian people to have to go on suffering this great misery and not to have it ended by sentencing the two

Ceausescus to death. The crimes against the people grew year by year. They were only busy enslaving the people and building an apparatus of power. They were not really interested in the people. [picture is cut off]

[Gutt] After an outage of transmission of Romanian television, the speaker announces that the verdict in the trial of Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu is the death sentence. In addition, all their property will be impounded.

Relatives Arrested

AU2812133589 Paris AFP in English 1315 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—The sister, nephew and sister-in-law of former President Nicolae Ceausescu have been arrested, the Romanian news agency AGERPRES reported Thursday without saying when the three were detained.

The agency said Elena Barbulescu, Ceausescu's sister, her son Emil Barbulescu and the wife of the former president's brother, Ilie Ceausescu, were all arrested in the former president's native village of Scornicesti.

Elena Barbulescu, whose education consisted only of four years at primary school, was subsequently made a "Doctor of Historical Sciences," AGERPRES recalled. Emil Barbulescu "by similar merits, rose to be deputy political director at the Interior Ministry," the agency said.

Other detained members of the Ceausescu family include the former president's son and daughter, Nicu and Zoe.

Ceausescu's Brother Commits Suicide

AU2812132889 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1312 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna—Marin Ceausescu, a brother of the deposed Romanian dictator, committed suicide this morning. He had worked as a trade counselor at the Romanian Embassy in Vienna since 1973.

As police announced, an employee discovered the diplomat hanged in the basement of the trade mission building in Theresianumgasse in Vienna's fourth district. A forensic autopsy will be carried out.

Academic Titles of Ceausescus Nullified

AU2812100989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Romanian Academy Nullifies Academic Titles Conferred on the Criminal Ceausescu Pair"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/12/1989—The Romanian Academy which met in extraordinary general session on 27 December 1989 decided to nullify forthrightly the academic titles it had been forced to award to criminals Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, bringing to an end a shameful period in the history of the academy.

The extraordinary general meeting expressed its adhesion to the Programme of the National Salvation Front's Council and its resolve to help its implementation.

A National Salvation Front's Provisional Committee of the Romanian Academy has started to draft the measures that must urgently be taken to restore the long-repressed academic institution to its rights as Romania's highest scientific and cultural forum and to its place in the world flow of values.

SFRY Daily Reports Ceausescu's Last Orders

AU2812072989 Paris AFP in English 0641 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 28 (AFP)—The last order given by the late Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was to "liquidate" all those who opposed the government's crushing of the protest movement, the Yugoslav daily POLITIKA reported Thursday.

A directive to that effect, dated December 21 (the eve of his arrest), was sent by Mr. Ceausescu's aides to communist party leaders in some 40 regions of Romania, the report said.

POLITIKA reporters in the Southwestern region of Mehedinti said they had information of a ledger showing that Nicolae Busuiu, the secretary of the local party committee, had co-signed a series of directives from Mr. Ceausescu received by party officials between December 17 and December 21.

The following is a brief summary of those orders:

-"Sunday, December 17: The situation in Timisoara is difficult ... The statements by a cleric (dissident pastor Laszlo Tokes) and the troubles which followed were provoked from abroad by fascist and antisocialist elements from the East and the West ... The units dispatched to Timisoara were not well armed. They should today receive arms and munitions .. The most severe measures must be taken to prevent any attempt at a coup d'etat ... We must put up total resistance to all forces opposed to our regime."

-"Wednesday, December 20: We must firmly resist enemy forces trying to organize rallies."

-"Thursday, December 21, 6:00 p.m.: Final instructions ... Everyone must be at the highest state of organization and fight with arms. The entire party and the people must organize for the defense of the system which is seriously threatened ... Anyone who opposes our measures must be liquidated immediately."

At the time the last directive was sent out, Bucharest was in a state of siege. The following day, Mr. Ceausescu and his wife Elena were arrested as the insurrection spread throughout the country.

Securitate Forces Status; Further Facts Revealed

Reportedly Switch Allegiance

LD2312111689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The situation in Romania is very complex. According to Romanian television, the security forces have switched allegiance to the uprising and will not continue to fight. [passage omitted]

NSF Urges Surrender

AU2712193689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] In connection with the Communique of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Mr Ovidiu Tocaciu, NSF Council member, will make certain specifications.

Before making the specifications in connection with terrorists and acts of terrorism, it is necessary to emphasize that in our country the Penal Code, with the exception of the specific dispositions abrogated by a decree that has been published, is and will remain in force until a new Penal Code is adopted.

Thus, the commission of offenses stipulated in the Penal Code will entail such consequences for those who commit offenses, and they will be judged in accordance with their deeds.

Given the exceptional situation in our country, owing to the fact that terrorist elements continue their opposition against our achievements, it has been necessary to issue a communique and ultimatum which afford the possibility to terrorist elements to surrender, so as to curb further bloodshed.

First of all, we have to specify what we understand by the term of terrorist. I want to specify that all legal provisions that will follow in order to complete the ultimatum-communique will, in turn, be published, so that there will be no misunderstanding.

A person who, without being entitled to do so, has on him firearms or side arms, ammunition, explosives, or any other means of destruction, or tranceiver equipment, and who, making use of such means, struggles against the National Salvation Front and against the achievements of free Romania, is a terrorist and declared as such.

At the same time, a person who spreads or publishes rumors or false, exaggerated, or tendentious information in connection with the existing exceptional state, in order to confuse the civilian population and to create a state of panic or for the purpose of diversion is viewed as a terrorist and declared as such.

Finally, the person who maintains contacts with terrorists or favors acts of terrorism will also be viewed as a terrorist and declared as such.

As is known, a deadline and date has been established—that is, a time when terrorists have the possibility to surrender. It has to be understood that this is to their advantage for the future, because thus they will have the chance to be reintegrated into the society which we want to build, or more precisely, which the people want to build.

The terrorist who will surrender by 28 December 1989 at 1700, in accordance with the provisions in the communique and ultimatum, will be tried and will benefit from extenuating circumstances—capital punishment being commuted to a term in prison. In other words, those who do not surrender by 1700 tomorrow will be tried by the exceptional military tribunals in accordance with a summary and exceptional procedure, and the punishment applied will be capital punishment.

Those who surrender by that time will benefit from the commuting of capital punishment to a term in prison. The length of imprisonment will be established on the basis of punishment stipulated in the Penal Code or in special penal laws for offense against life and health, the offense of [word indistinct] offenses against the juridical regulations on arms, firearms and side arms, ammunition, and explosives committed by the respective person.

The terrorist who, understanding the humaneness of the ultimatum issued by us, surrenders himself and one or more terrorists who refuse to stop fighting on the date and time set, will benefit from greater clemency, in accordance with each separate case, and up to complete pardoning from punshiment.

I want to stress that the special dispositions to complete the ultimatum-communique, will be published.

As a matter of fact, you should know that so far there have already been cases of benevolent treatment to those who surrendered. Precisely because the National Salvation Front does not pursue revenge, and does not want to respond to terror with terror, you realize that it is adopting appropriate measures to ensure a just balance between the seriousness of deeds and the punishments in each separate case.

Account of Atrocities

AU2712170589 Paris AFP in English 1656 GMT 27 Dec 89

[By Jean-Anne Chalet]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 27 (AFP)—The carnage perpetrated by supporters of executed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in Sibiu, controlled by his son Nicu, included the killing of children at a hospital, a resident said Wednesday.

Professor Nicolae Laru said in a telephone interview that the bloodshed in the central city where Nicu Ceausescu headed the local communist party began Thursday when the militia opened fire on a group of young people who

had gathered in a Sibiu square to show solidarity with the victims of a military crackdown in Timosoara.

Two people were mown down and many arrested. When the crowd tried again to enter the square, blocked off by militia, firemen turned firehoses on them, Mr. Laru said.

The crowd then headed towards the Communist Party headquarters and the militia headquarters, demanding the release of those arrested and refusing to disperse despite a barrage of teargas.

The following day saw a veritable massacre, when members of the Securitate, Ceausescu's secret police, took up positions on the roof of the Continental Hotel and raked with machine gun fire a crowd of more than 100,000 people outside the party headquarters. [passage omitted]

After these developments, regular army troops in the town joined forces with the protesters, prompting the Securitate to attack the local officers' college. After failing to take it they attempted to blow up the building.

Meanwhile troops forced their way into the Securitate building, seizing weapons which they distributed among the populace, Mr. Laru said.

But on Saturday morning the Securitate re-took control of their building and immediately launched a new offensive, this time opening fire indiscriminately in various parts of the town.

Then on Sunday, Christmas Eve, they massacred children, a doctor and a surgeon who were performing an operation in a hospital on the road to Sibiu airport.

It was not known how many people had died in Sibiu.

An AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE reporter who tried to reach Sibiu was stopped, searched and told not to continue. Securitate forces were said to be hiding in forests waiting to carry out ambushes.

Members Alledgedly Drugged

AU2712170189 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 27 Dec 89 pp 4-7

[Michael Jeannee report: "All Were Under the Influence of Drugs...."]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The freed Romanians the Securitate members are only terrorists. Rabid dogs would be an even better expression. Now the secret of their insane resistance has been disclosed: They were all under the influence of drugs! All arrested members of the terrorist gang had taken a drug which allegedly comes from China. It is reportedly a secret extract of the ginseng root, which is unknown in the West. Whoever took it became an insane killing machine.

Libyans, Iranians, and Ethiopians also fought together with this secret society of the devil. Their training camp was in the Dostana training camp, a closed valley 150 km North of Bucharest. Thousands of foreign "students" learned the terrible trade of terror there. This assassination center was headed by a woman—Elena Ceausescu! [passage omitted]

Reports of Continued Shooting

LD2712200189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] There has been calm in most of Romania's provincial towns. In Cluj, there was small-scale shooting in the outskirts of the town. In Arad, followers of the dictator attacked the main post office; this is why telephone links were broken off in the county. The Army has warned the population not to approach Sibiu during the night, because members of the Securitate are firing on those heading toward the town. Military summary courts are being established, and summary proceedings will be launched against those who do not hand in their fire arms and ammunition by 1700 tomorrow afternoon.

Files Found in Sibiu

AU2812075689 Paris AFP in English 0730 GMT 28 Dec 89

[By Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Sibiu, Romania, Dec 28 (AFP)—Armored military vehicles still lay smouldering in the streets as this central Romanian city cautiously emerged Thursday from the nightmare of civil war.

"It was war here, with tanks, shelling and commando units," said a soldier guarding the police headquarters. "It was here that Nicolae Ceausescu tried to launch a counteroffensive against us."

Sibiu was without question the city where fighting between army units and forces of the reviled Securitate secret police caused the most damage.

From December 22 to December 25 heavy combat in the city was centered around three military schools, the local police headquarters and the buildings occupied by the Securitate. Little remains of the buildings.

All the surrounding houses used for cover by Securitate units are pock-marked with innumberable bullet holes and passers-by stare in horror at the burned-out vehicles which litter the streets.

In front of the Securitate building a crowd gathered and demanded that the files discovered within—one file for each resident of the city—be recovered and placed in safekeeping.

Reading the notes on a Sibiu resident from one of the files, a soldier said: "Wrote to a cousin in Switzerland. Unimportant words. During his military service frequented soldiers of German origin like himself."

Some of the files discovered in the building date back to 1958.

Local residents gathered in the crowd in front of the building described how around a dozen "Securistes" were arrested during the fighting and lynched by the population, which killed them with kicks and blows to the head.

"We have no words to describe these men of the Securitate—they are worse than monsters," said one woman in her 50's, who then broke down in tears.

"When Securitate's cars were burned in front of my house I realized it was probably the first time it had been warm in my apartment," said another resident in a dark allusion to the poor heating which plagued the country during Mr. Ceausescu's reign.

The fighting was also heavy in the center of the city and Sibiu's main hotel, the Continental, has no windows on the first five floors and bullet holes can be seen as high as the 11th floor.

"The Securistes took up positions in the hotel and filled two floors with munitions," a hotel employee said. There were fires in many rooms, triggered by exploding shells.

Opposite the hotel, a sign fixed to a lampost reads: "Soldiers, do not fire on our brothers and our parents. The Army is with us."

In the streets of Sibiu, where many windows on shops and homes were covered with cardboard, local residents were going about their business normally Wednesday evening.

Military patrols, light armoured vehicles and ambulances carrying coffins on the roof were in the streets, along with trucks carrying emergency food and medical aid from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and West Germany.

Despite the bitter cold, cleanup crews were working late into the evening Wednesday.

Vienna Mission Alleged Headquarters

AU2712210989 Vienna KURIER in German 28 Dec 89 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Arab Soldiers Hired in Austria?"]

[Text] The disappearance of Ceausescu's brother Marin from Austria has given new emphasis to a thesis that says that the Romanian trade mission in Vienna was a central location for the West European activities of "Securitate." However, for the time being the role of the elder brother in the ruling clan is unclear.

Marin Ceausescu, 75, head of the Romanian trade department in Vienna, was head of the "Securitate" headquarters for Western Europe: This was discovered by a KURIER journalist from circles around the new government in Bucharest. In his homeland, the elder brother of the executed dictator is even suspected of having hired Arab mercenaries, who were used in the massacre against the Army and the civilian population.

As has been reported, Marin Ceausescu has been gone for days. He left his apartment in Vienna's fourth district, Theresianumgasse 25, for an unknown destination.

A trade department spokesman told KURIER on Wednesday [27 December] that the diplomat had gone to Bucharest because he was worried about his family, which had remained in Romania, in particular his daughters Gabriele and Michaela. Recently he had been calling his brother a "madman." A representative of the Romanian Embassy in Vienna also tried to stress the allegedly distant relationship between Marin and the former head of state. This is also explains why Marin was still in the relatively unimportant post as head of trade in Vienna.

Well, if the statements of the Romanian master spy Haiducu, who defected in Vienna years ago, are correct, the house in Theresianumgasse 25 was the most important "Securitate" base in Western Europe. However, in a talk with KURIER at the time of his defection, Haiducu stressed that Marin Ceausescu was not involved in the spy activities. The Austrian State Police, who had indications of "Securitate" activities in Austria, also do not know anything about Marin's actual role. The brother of the executed politician has so far not given his associates in Vienna any sign of life.

National Bank Governor on Salary Payment

AU2612045089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 25 Dec 89

["From Romania's National Bank"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/12/1989—The governor of the National Bank of Romania, Decebal Urdea, made the following statement to an AGERPRES reporter, on behalf of the board of directors of the main banking institution:

The board of directors of the National Bank of Romania, together with the whole staff of the bank addressed to the National Salvation Front a message expressing their attachment, from the very first moment, to the decisions of the National Salvation Front and to give assurances that everyday and every minute of work will be done with dedication and high patriotism for the country's economic recovery, for a fast return to normalcy.

The board of directors of the National Bank of Romania has taken steps for:

The payment of the wages and salaries at the dates established together with the enterprises and institutions;

The settlement the next days of the normal activity of credits and payments between enterprises.

Status of Meat, Milk Supply in Bucharest

AU2612054089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1937 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/12/1989—Production units within the meat preparation central department in Bucharest work for a smooth run of all activities to supply the population with meat and meat preparations. On December 25 catering units were supplied 200 tons of meat. Moreover, the same day, the slaughter house in Bucharest delivered to residents of the Romanian capital 184 tons of pork. The management board announced urgent steps had been taken, together with production units in the country, to supply daily the Bucharest residents with more than 3,000 tons of meat and meat preparations.

In the past two days the Romanian population was supplied 49,000 hl of milk along with substantial amounts of cheese and butter. The management board of the relevant central department shows that at present there are stocks of more than 2,150 tons of cheese, butter and powder milk for the hard tried residents of Romania's capital city.

Revolution Facing 'Burning' Economic Issues

AU2612062089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 25 Dec 89

["The Romanian Revolution Is Faced With Burning Economic Issues"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/12/1989—The problem of the moment is the full and efficient supply of all economic units, central departments and ministries, of other central bodies, and of the new state organs that have to urgently and fully exercise their attributes, writes Professor N.N. Constantinescu, one of the most reputed Romanian economists, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy. In an article published in the December 25 issue of the newspaper ADEVARUL ("THE TRUTH", in romanian formerly SCINTEIA), the respected Romanian economist underscores that, at present, the most burning issue is a competent analysis of the structures and proportions of the national economy, the establishment of a rate of accumulation freed from megalomania and inefficiency, which should truly reflect the people's needs. Economic growth must be laid on a humanistic foundation as soon as possible. Professor Constantinescu further calls for the reexamination of the material balances of the Romanian economy, which should take into account the consumption needs of the domestic market, with exports oriented so as not to affect the needs of the population. Production is worth nothing if it does not reflect the needs of the people, he stressed.

With respect to free Romania's foreign economic relations, Mr. Constantinescu, a professor at Bucharest's Academy of Economic Studies, points out that they should be given a strong impetus, because it is only now that Romania really has both internal and international conditions which guarantee its greatest opportunities.

Practices like forging statistical data and hiding the truth from the people must come to an end, once and for all. Statistics should openly convey to the people and the government the whole truth regarding the economic situation and social life, he also emphasized, stating: the elaboration of honest and competent statistics provides an indispensible instrument for the effective implementation of economic democracy, which needs facts, not words.

NSF Denies Ceausescu Assets Moved to Iran

LD2612203189 Tehran IRNA in English 1750 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 26, IRNA—In a meeting with Iran's charge d'affaires to Bucharest, Tuesday Middle East director of the Romanian Foreign Ministry rejected rumours by the Western media about a purportedly secret transfer of executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu's assets to Iran.

He said the 'unfounded rumor is the invention of certain news agencies and does not represent the official position of Romania's National Salvation Front [NSF].'

The Iranian Embassy official appreciated the understanding of the National Salvation Front of Romania and reminded that certain Western news agencies mean to disrepute the Islamic Republic before the eyes of the Romanians.

He expressed hope that the Romanian Government officials will evaluate hostile propaganda of those news agencies with good judgement and foresight.

'Libertatea 1989' Account Opened in Bucharest

AU2612162589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1125 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGEERPRES, 26/12/1989—The Bucharest Branch of the Savings and Deposits Bank C.E.C., has opened a new account, "Libertatea 1989", at the initiative of the citizens, in support of those afflicted; of the families of those who died in the heavy battles for the removal of the Ceausescu clique, for liberty and an authentic democracy in Romania.

Over 750,000 lei had already been deposited by citizens in the early hours of 25 December adding to which were large sums deposited by collectivities of enterprises, institutions, residents' associations and others....

The staff of the Romanian Embassy in Yugoslavia deposited 1,200 dollars in the "Libertatea 1989" account, announces the head of the Romanian diplomatic mission in Belgrade.

Appeal to Agricultural Workers To Use Initiative

AU2812131689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1754 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—In an appeal addressed to all agricultural experts and workers, the Provisional Committee of the National Salvation Front of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences denounces the agrarian policy of the old dictatorial regime in Romania, characterized by "incompetence, contempt for experts and peasant, that profoundly damaged agriculture".

The committee requests that the whole activity be focussed on priority targets, including the restructuring of the whole agricultural activity based upon economic efficiency and profitability, the elimination of the administrative-bureaucratic methods, the promotion of free initiative and competence, and the use of all forms of material incentive.

Cancelation of Trade Regulation for Rural People

AU2812131989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The new regulations on the village trade endorsed by the government stipulates the annulment as of January 1, 1990 of the "price addition" that used to be applied in the rural milieu to a number of food and industrial products, charged for so-called additional transport expenditures. As a result, the prices of all goods will be the same in towns and villages.

The goods that used to be sold compulsorily in exchange for farm produce, shall be sold without that condition. It is also stipulated that the purchase units shall buy the farmers' produce at legal prices.

Provisional Committee To Form Free Trade Union

AU2712214189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2111 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—An Initiative Committee has announced the setting up of the Provisional Committee which is to organize the Free Trade Union in Romania, an organization which will replace the General Trade Union Confederation in Romania (GTUCR).

Adhesion has been expressed with the communique released by Romania's National Salvation Front. Fifty million lei is offered to the Council of the National Salvation Front in order to help families whose members sacrificed their lives, and also offered is the entire rest and treatment base, where all those who have suffered as a result of the odious dictatorship will have free access.

The provisional committee suggests reorganizing the Trade Unions, starting with free elections so that the new organization may safeguard and watch over the fundamental interests of all the social categories, irrespective of nationality, sex, or political and religious beliefs.

The new Trade Unions will be independent from the state bodies and other political, economic and administrative structures.

The platform-programme provides for the working people's right to set up self-dependent Trade Unions and freely endorse their own statute of organization and running, the right of Trade Unions to resort to petitions, demonstrations and strikes, the struggle for observance of the fundamental human rights, the right of Trade Unions to legislative initiative, to safeguard the social rights of the Trade Union members, inclusive of a normal working schedule and a five-day week, and granted salaried days off on national and religious occasions.

All the Trade Union Organizations are to have legal power and their wealth will be guaranteed by the Constitution. The National Conference of the Union of Free Trade Union Federations in Romania will be held prior to the parliamentary elections announced for April 1990, so that it may nominate its own candidates to those elections.

Salvation Front Council Holds 1st Session 27 Dec

AU2712164089 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT 27 Dec 89

[By Ricardo Ustarroz]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 27 (AFP)—Romania's new government broke with the communist past at its first full-scale session here Wednesday, after warning hardline partisans of executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu that they faced the firing squad.

National Salvation Front Council (NSFC) president Ion Iliescu said in an improvised speech opening the full meeting of the 36-member body that the "Romanian revolution" was not brought about by the party.

"The great particularity of the Romanian revolution, compared to the other countries in the East is that this process is taking place outside the Communist party.

"Romania is experiencing a deep crisis which brought a social explosion. We must put other structures in place," Mr. Iliescu, a communist, said. [Passage omitted]

The main items on Wednesday's agenda were an analysis of the current situation, the problem of the vertical power structure inherited from Ceausescu and the state of the Romanian economy, reliable sources said.

Earlier Wednesday, the council warned that secret police still resisting its provisional government will be shot by firing squad when caught, like Ceausescu was Monday, unless they surrendered by 5 p.m. (1500 GMT) Thursday. [Passage omitted]

One of the two army generals in the council, Victor Stanculescu, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that military operations since Ceausescu was overthrown Friday have been commanded by a collegiate group of 11 senior officers, but refused to name them.

Asked whether the Army was playing a leading role in the post-Ceausescu democratisation process, General Stanculescu said: "Not on your life!" [Passage omitted]

New Parties, Organizations Formed; Seek Power

AU2812060689 Paris AFP in English 0219 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—New political parties have emerged in Romania and there were signs here Thursday of confrontation between the governing Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and other groups demanding radical change.

As the Council of the NSF began its fourth day in power since the execution of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the National Peasant Party (PNT)—absent from the political scene since the communists seized power in 1947—made it clear that it intends to play a major role in rebuilding the country and said it would not recognize the Council fo the NSF.

PNT spokesman Serban Ghica said the party "welcomed the replacement of the Ceausescu regime by the National Salvation Front", but added that the provisional government "cannot claim to represent the Romanian people."

"The government under Petre Roman installed by the Front can only be a transitional government and cannot take any major political decisions," Mr. Ghica said. Mr. Roman is Romania's newly-appointed prime minister.

The PNT, which has already put forward a platform based on a market economy and a Western-style system of democratic government, said its offices in Bucharest were being inundated with telephone calls for membership information.

Separately, a provisional committee of free trade unions was officially set up Wednesday and promptly spelled out its demands for the right to organize and strike, to initiate legislation and to put forward candidates for parliamentary elections.

Four representatives of the committee said they backed the Council of the NSF, but also read out telephone numbers which could be used to join the committee and to present criticisms and advance new ideas.

The PNT, headed by Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalachet, won the largest vote in 1946 in the last free elections in Romania, defeating the Liberal Party and the Communist Party. The Communists nevertheless went on to seize power in 1948.

As these and other political groups began to make their voices heard, the Council's chairman Ion Iliescu, a former Communist Party official sacked by Mr. Ceausescu, has reiterated his conviction that it is still too soon to begin implementing a multi-party system in the country.

Workers and students interviewed in the streets of the Romanian capital Wednesday expressed skepticism that the Council of the NSF, which includes a number of so-called "repentent" Communists, is capable of bringing about a transition to democracy.

In a television interview, Doina Cornea, one of Romania's most well-known dissidents and herself a member of the new provisional government, called on the population to help in reconstruction of the country on the basis of respect for freedom, democracy and human rights.

But she also warned the Romanian people to be on guard against attempts by former members of the Ceausescu regime to infiltrate regional NSF committees and to confiscate the fruits of a revolution in which they played little role.

On Wednesday, Romanian radio announced creation of a Democratic Ecology Party, and over the past two days another Democratic Party has emerged and announced its intention to be at the forefront of governing the country.

By Thursday, as various parts of the country still lay smouldering in the aftermath of the bloody week-long civil war that ousted Mr. Ceausescu and amid reports that the feared pro-Ceausescu Securitate forces were preparing further attacks, it was clear that the NSF's hold on power was tenuous.

Romanian television meanwhile showed film for the first time Wednesday of the body of Mr. Ceausescu's wife, Elena, executed in secret by a firing squad after a military tribunal found the couple responsible for the genocide of 60,000 Romanians.

An informed source here said the government had not shown the film of Elena earlier because she fell sprawled on the concrete with her legs spread out and authorities had considered the images obscene.

The source said the government was still debating whether to broadcast footage of the couple being executed in a hail of bullets. [passage omitted]

New Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac Takes Office

AU2812071089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0644 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Romania's New Foreign Minister Is Sergiu Celac"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Romania's new Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac took office on 27 December.

A press conference at the Foreign Affairs Ministry was attended by over 300 foreign journalists who are in

Bucharest now. Corneliu Bogdan, a former ambassador to the U.S., who had been retired and who is now a minister secretary of state at Romania's Foreign Ministry, answered the foreign journalists' questions.

Iliescu Comments on Atmosphere of Revolution

AU2812111389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0912 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Ion Iliescu on the Revolution in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/12/1989—Speaking about the revolution in progress in Romania, at the first meeting of the National Salvation Front's Council on the evening of 27 December, Ion Iliescu said that in all East European countries except Romania it was a process that had been going on for some time. He said that initiative groups and factors of renovation had appeared within the ruling parties which worked out ways of improvement, of restructuring, and so on. In Romania the deep crisis of the Ceausescu regime had forced a social explosion that overthrew the regime. A new structure is emerging. What that structure is going to be like, is something that the process will tell us. There is no basis for the idea that Ceausescu upheld at his trial, namely that it would have been a coup staged by I don't know who, with foreign support from outside. That is not true. All of us here who are creating a new power structure were brought here by the waves of the revolutionary movement. It was the popular and spontaneous character that was specific of the Romanian revolution.

This has advantages and disadvantages. Disadvantages because there is no pre-established structure we can use for support. We must develop them now, as the process is going on. And it has the advantage that we no longer have taboos, that no prejudice can influence us any more. We may come with the best solutions that life suggests. We want to be realistic, to promote a realistic policy, the source of which is life, we no longer want to be bound by taboos, by pre-established schemes.

You saw how difficult things were in the early days of the revolution said the president of the National Salvation Front's Council. There was even a time when tension had come to a head, when the Armed Forces were a little concerned about the action of the individuals in the former repressive machinery—well organized, highly efficient, pretty well informed and above all capable of keeping the city and its residents tense. Perhaps they were not numerous, but they were professionals, they were well trained. Overall, things have been under control.

The main positive thing was that that spontaneous popular movement that erupted like a volcano enjoyed the full support of the Army from the very beginning.

People Asked To Work Hard To Restore County

AU2812114189 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Esteemed compatriots, after days of fierce fighting with the barbarous forces of the Ceausescu regime, which continue to ignore the truth that they are no longer able to turn back the wheel of history, we must now work with all our energy, in complete agreement and true national consensus, to ensure the stabilization of the socioeconomic activity and continuity of a normal life in order to once again put into operation existing structures and to reorganize them on new bases.

The aim of terrorist actions, Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, said, is to hamper the stabilization of the socioeconomic activity.

Therefore, each of us at our job has to demonstrate the capability and creativity of our people and their tremendous energy and power of concentration so that our revolution will progress firmly and irreversibly toward democracy—the will of our whole nation.

Let us do all we can, so that those who try to attack the values of our revolution are not able to destabilize the situation and to undermine the current stage of effective organization.

Our only strength today is to preserve the unity of the whole people, a unity based on the general consensus of all creative forces of Romanian society.

Laszlo Tokes Discusses Abduction

AU2812134889 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Report on interview with Reformed Church minister Laszlo Tokes by Rolf Gallus for the Italian daily IL GIORNO in Bucharest on 27 December]

[Text] After Pastor Laszlo Tokes held a lengthy talk with two Hungarian representatives from the Democratic Forum from Debrecen in Mineu, Transylvania, the day before yesterday [26 December], he granted an interview to the Italian journalist Marco Sassano from the Milan daily IL GIORNO in Bucharest yesterday [27 December]. Tokes described what happened to him and his wife during the past few weeks since they were attacked by Securitate henchmen. He is now in Bucharest as a member of the National Salvation Committee. Both the Hungarians from the Democratic Forum and Sassano asked him whether it was true that he wants to assume a ministerial post. Tokes stated: First of all, I belong to the Salvation Committee as a simple representative of the Reformed Church of Romania. I was appointed without my consent. In any case, I will not withdraw at such a terrible moment for our fatherland.

After his abduction from Timisoara to Mineu, Laszlo Tokes and his wife were interrogated and mistreated for 3 days by Securitate secret agents. Pastor Tokes was

accused of being a spy for capitalist fascism and for the Hungarians. He was accused of being a dirty traitor of the free Romanian state, embodied in Ceausescu's socialist regime. This also applied to his wife, they claimed. Tokes rejected reports that his wife had had a miscarriage and stressed that he himself was not seriously injured during the 3 days of interrogation. However, they repeatedly had their faces slapped and were brutally kicked by Securitate agents.

During the last part of his interview, Sassano wanted to know details about the dispute between Tokes and his diocesan bishop, Laszlo Papp, who has meanwhile been removed from his position. Tokes made the following clear statement: He is not a pastor, but an opportunist and conformist. This bishop worked for Securitate and always advocated repression. Tokes continued: The persecutions that my wife and I and our parish faced recently were initiated by him, Bishop Papp. He supported the Ceausescu state and gave orders for ideological persecution. He was the first one to call me a traitor to Romania, and this was the basis for the Securitate henchmen, for their motives during the interrogations and for their mistreatment. They accused me of being the initiator of the Timisoara demonstrations.

He was finally asked by the Italian journalist whether he would like to return to Timisoara. Tokes replied that he would immediately go back, but friends told him that it was still be very dangerous for him. It is quite bothersome to him that his parish is without pastoral care and that no Christmas services were held, he stated.

1,500 Reported Dead in Sibiu Fighting

LD2812141289 Hamburg DPA in German 1346 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Hermannstadt (DPA)—Over 1,000 soldiers and an estimated 500 or so civilians were killed in the recent fighting between the military and the Securitate secret police in the town of Hermannstadt (Sibiu) alone, according to information from a high-ranking Romanian military official. The historic town, which has a high proportion of ethnic Germans, was partially destroyed in the heavy fighting, Colonel Vicko Ligina told DPA today. [passage omitted providing details of cleanup operation]

Democratic Front of Students To Be Formed

AU2812115489 Paris AFP in English 1134 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—Students have set up a provisional committee to organise a Democratic Front of Romanian Students, the committee said in a statement on Thursday.

It said that as of now students in all the universities across the country were meeting to elect delegates fro n all levels within faculties.

The delegates would then elect one representative per university to send to Bucharest from Friday to draw up a national action programme.

More on Support, Assistance for Interim Government

Support From Ambassador to Austria

AU2312133389 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1307 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Vienna— The Romanian ambassador to Austria, Cocarla, has announced in Vienna that he represents the new government of his country.

"We are very happy that our people can finally live in freedom and democracy. We express solidarity with the National Salvation Front," said an embassy spokesman. [passage omitted]

Support From Embassy in Belgrade

LD2312125289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—The Romanian ambassador in Belgrade has announced to TANJUG that he is in complete solidarity with the Committee for National Salvation in Romania and supports the proclamation of that committee. In a statement to TANJUG in the name of Ambassador Dumitru Popa and all members of the Romanian diplomatic representation, Romanian Embassy press attache Jon Macovei strongly condemned the criminal action of former President Ceausescu in their country.

Support From Embassy in Helsinki

LD2312131589 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finish 1300 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Cornelia Teodorescu, the Romanian ambassador in Helsinki, has announced that the staff of the Romanian Embassy in Finland support the National Salvation Front, which overthrew Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu yesterday. The Romanian ambassador to Finland also says in a statement that she supports the program of the National Salvation Front. In many other countries around the world, Romanian embassies have announced their support for the National Salvation Front. Romanian embassies in the German Democratic Republic, Canada, Israel, and Turkey, among other countries, have turned against Ceausescu.

Support From Embassy in Guinea

AB2312171789 Paris AFP in French 1620 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Conakry, 23 Dec (AFP)—Personnel of the Romanian Embassy in Conakry pledged their support to and solidarity with the "National Salvation Committee,"

which took power after the fall of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, according to a press release issued this afternoon in Conakry.

In this release, which was handed over to the Government of Guinea, Romanian diplomats at post in Conakry notably declare that "they are firmly behind the National Salvation Committee and join its program." The Guinean Government has not as yet reacted officially to events in Romania.

Support From Ambassador to Zaire

AB2312214389 Paris AFP in French 1822 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Kinshasa, 23 Dec (AFP)—The Romanian ambassador to Zaire, Mr Andrea Mircea, today pledged his support for the National Salvation Committee set up in Romania after the fall of the dictator Nicolae Ceaucescu, it was learned from official sources in Kinshasa. In a note verbale addressed to the Zairian minister of foreign affairs, the Romanian diplomat announced his support for the National Salvation Committee and to its government program.

Zaire has maintained diplomatic relations with Romania for many years, and a number of Zairian students study in Romanian universities. During the last congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the Popular Movement of the Revolution's Executive Council sent a large delegation to Bucharest to attend its deliberations.

Support From Embassy in Amman

JN2412130689 Amman Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Here in Amman, the Romanian Embassy today expressed solidarity with the new government in Romania. An embassy spokesman told Radio Jordan this morning that the embassy and its staff supported the interim government of the National Salvation Front.

Support From Ambassador in Tehran

LD2512172289 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] The Romanian ambassador in Tehran yesterday came to the Foreign Ministry and submitted the communique of the National Salvation Front [NSF] of Romania, naming this Front as the interim leadership of Romania. He also declared the support of the Romanian Embassy in Tehran for the new leadership of his country. The officials of the Foreign Ministry of our country also declared solidarity of the Islamic Revolution with the resistant people of the country. They expressed support for a free and independent Romania, and hoped that the people of that country will be victorious and proud in arriving at the freedom and independence-seeking aspirations of the Romanian people.

Support From Embassy in Harare

EA2512153989 Nairobi KNA in English 1402 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Harare, 25 Dec (PANA)—The Romanian Embassy in Harare has come out in support of the anti-Nicolae Ceausescu forces reported to have now wrested power and proclaimed a new government. "The staff of the Romanian Embassy is in solidarity with the committee of the National Salvation Front and support their programme," Counsellor Dumitru Ciubotariu said.

Romania's local embassy joined others, including the mission to Beijing in supporting the overthrow. Ciubotariu said Ceausescu "was overthrown by the people." He added that he and his staff were monitoring foreign and international news agencies for developments in his country.

Support From Orthodox Church

AU2412172189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1436 GMT 24 Dec 89

["Message of Adhesion of the Romanian Orthodox Church"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/12/1989—The Romanian Orthodox Church is by the side of the Romanian people also at these crucial times. It expresses its full attachment to the programme and actions of the Front of National Salvation, meant to ensure the triumph of the freedom and dignity of all the sons of the homeland.

Under the circumstances of obstructed freedoms, imposed by the dictatorship, and of terrorizing the whole people, our church has been submitted to pressures and limitations which we have not managed to overcome in order to exercise entirely the rights of our mission, yet, with perseverence and patience, we strive to preserve vivid the sense of kinship and to promote, with our own powers, our people's undying values.

We are resolved to rebuild our old historic sanctuaries, churches and monasteries—victims of tyrant Ceausescu's bulldozers—and to build new churches in so many districts where they have disappeared and where we were not allowed to build them. We shall peacefully and joyfully celebrate our Holy Christian celebrations, also reads the message which stresses that, stepping fully confident by the side of the whole people, the members of the Holy Synod are resolved to support most vigorously the great principles and actions which were expressed in the communique addressed to the country by the Council of the Front of National Salvation.

Support From Prosecutor

AU2412183989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1715 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Announcer: Here is another statement of support from the organs of the Prosecutor's Office:

To the Council of the National Salvation Front,

On 22 December 1989, the day of our historical victory, we were present in front of the headquarters of the former Central Committee and we intend to also participate in consolidating the people's democratic revolution of the overthrow of the dictatorial regime.

We propose:

—to continue the current activity of solving urgent problems and call to account all those who commit acts of vandalism and of destruction of the people's and nation's assets, acts that do not represent the revolution;

—to set up provisional democratic leadership committees of the Prosecutor's Office, at central and local level, consisting of people determined to firmly act and defend the future of free and democratic Romania;

—to set up a collective of experts from all judicial spheres, which should work out a draft normative act of amnesty for deeds falsely qualified [words indistinct] by the ousted dictatorial regime; we are referring to the decree on abortions and other unpopular laws;

—to depoliticize the Prosecutor's Office organs and their integration in a single and democratic system of justice; we are ready to participate, as technical and operative personnel, in drafting and finessing a new democratic constitution and the laws required by democracy and truth.

We want the building, falsely named the People's House, to be architecturally modified, in accordance with the authentic Romanian style. The building should be turned into a university, in the memory of the young people who gave their lives for freedom, progress, truth, and today's victory.

Long live free Romania.

Former Foreign Minister's Statement

AU2412224889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2153 GMT 24 Dec 89

["Declaration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/12/1989—Known Romanian writer George Macovescu, former foreign minister and former president of the Writers' Union, declared over the Romanian radio stations:

The Romanian people are living one of the greatest moments of their modern history: the fall of a loathsome dictatorship, just as they live the sunrise of a genuine liberation, the beginning of a time of genuine democracy, of genuine freedom, of real dignity. The years of dictatorship were hard. Full of suffering, of humiliation, of stifled honest thought and soul, of lie that replaced the truth, of enthronement of the implacable order in the place of the exchange of ideas, of suppressed constructive dialogue, of annihilated will, of the moral norms ousted from social practice.

Everything was represented by the dictator. He was everything. The French King's boasting "the state is I", was nothing as compared with Ceausescu's "everything is I".

Let us not forget any of these horrors, so that they should never recur. Let us build today our country, society, life, so that such horrors not recur ever. Now, on these difficult days that are wonderful by their grandeur, we should defend at any cost what we have won with sacrifices, especially at the cost of the young people's blood: the freedom. Let us defend our country, our material and cultural, spiritual assets, our honor and dignity. For, there can be nothing more valuable than the free and dignified man, than a free and dignified country.

Gorbachev Phones Iliescu

AU2712232889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2232 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Gorbachev and Iliescu Talk on the Phone"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The president of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania, Ion Iliescu, talked on the phone with Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on Wednesday afternoon. Requested to present the topic of the talk Ion Iliescu stated: President Gorbachev, who also sent me a written message of friendship, solidarity and support, wanted to orally express the same warm feelings in support of our revolutionary transformations. We wished one another a development on new, sound bases of the relations between our countries.

Soviet Ambassador Received

AU2712200589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Wednesday, the president of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania, Ion Iliescu, and Prime Minister Petre Roman received Y. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Bucharest.

On the occasion the Soviet ambassador conveyed the president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, Ion Iliescu, on behalf of the president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, sincere congratulations and assured him that the Romanian people will always find support in the peoples and leadership of the Soviet Union on its road to renewals, in actually asserting democratic order in Romania.

Congratulations were also conveyed to Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman from the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov.

During the interview that passed in a particularly warm atmosphere the new Romanian leadership voiced the belief that the friendship and manysided cooperation between the two countries and peoples will strengthen and develop in all areas, in the interest of democratic transformations, of international peace and understanding.

Support From Bulgarian Ambassador

AU2512223289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1713 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Message conveyed by Bulgarian Ambassador Tsvetan Nicolov, in Bulgarian with simultaneous Romanian translation—date and place not given]

[Text] Dear Romanian friends and comrades, dear Romanian brothers: on behalf of our State Council we express the joy of the Bulgarian State's leadership for the great victory achieved by the Romanian people, through the elimination of the dictatorship and power of Nicolae Ceausescu and his family. This is a great victory for the Romanian people, of their workers class, of their young people and children.

Our people express profound feelings of joy and sympathy for this great victory of the Romanian people. There is something greatly symbolical in the fact that the Romanian people on 23 August 1944 won their freedom from the fascist oppression, and the Bulgarian people won their freedom on 9 September 1944; while presently, our people won their freedom by eliminating Todor Zsivkov's dictatorship on 10 November 1989 and the Romanian people won their freedom from the dictatorship of Ceausescu and his clan on 21 December of this year. This proves that our people and our countries, both in historical retrospective and now, march hand in hand, and will always be together in the struggle for freedom, social progress, democracy, and good-neighborliness in order to ensure the best conditions of life for our peoples.

I would like to inform all our Romanian friends and comrades, that our people during meetings and gatherings, which have been convened and held spontaneously, have expressed and continue to express their support with the victory of the Romanian people over the personal disctatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu. Our country and our society immediately and spontaneously organized collections of humanitarian aid, medicine, blood, foodstuffs, destined for the Romanian friends, to their wonderful young people, and to their parents who brought up such young people. We would like to express our wish that this continuous aid, which is constantly coming from us, in the most rapid way, should reach the destination determined by the Romanian comrades, and should be distributed in accordance with the needs for saving lives, injured people and young people, and the orphan children, and those parents who lost their parents in the struggle waged against ceausescu's dictatorship. Our people together with our leadership express complete solidarity with the national salvation front, with the neighboring frataternal Romania. The Bulgarian people and the Romanian people, our country and Romania will always march hand in hand in the struggle for peace, fredom, democracy, and social progress.

Support From Chilean Refugees

AU2612064389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1911 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/12/1989—The spokesman for the Chilean Political Refugees in Bucharest, Juan Retamal, sent a message to the National Salvation Front showing that at these moments of outstanding importance, when the brotherly, friendly Romanian people are building a path to freedom and to a truly democratic society, the Chileans residing in Romania cannot be mere spectators to the Romanian revolutionary process, all the more so in conditions in which that brotherly people gave them shelter on its hospitable soil starting 1973, a year of sad remembrance to them, offering its solidarity and giving them a chance to correspondingly integrate into the Romanian way of life.

Ever since December 22, a heroic and historical day, we have contributed to the Romanian people's revolution, being at its side, shoulder to shoulder with our Romanian brothers, helping the wounded, physicians and nursing staff giving help at their workplaces or on the barricades in Bucharest.

Romanian brothers, we are at your side, you are not alone, the whole world is with you, the message shows in conclusion.

Greeting From Thatcher

AU2712222389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2146 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, sent a telegram to Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, stressing that the British follow with great sympathy and admiration the tragic if heroic events in Romania. Great Britain, reads the telegram, is ready to help by all means the reconstruction of a peaceful and democratic Romania.

At the same time Douglas Hurd, secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, sent a congratulatory telegram to Dumitru Mazilu, first vice-president of the Council of the National Salvation Front.

Mongolian Endorsement

AU2812000689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2134 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—In his 26 December speech on the radio and television Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, chai·man of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, showed that his country was solid with the Romanian people, hailing and supporting the efforts of the National Salvation Front towards the stabilization and the overcoming of the complex situation the country is in, towards the safeguarding of the fundamental interests of its people.

Support From Finland

AU2712234989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2253 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Helsinki (AGERPRES) 27/12/1989—The Finnish Government endorsed a declaration expressing support for the efforts made by the National Salvation Front to normalize the situation and ensure the democratic development of Romania. Also mentioned is the wish to maintain and develop relations of friendship with Romania. The Finnish Government decided as a first and most immediate aid to offer three million Finnish Marks (aproximately 750,000 U.S. dollars) to the Red Cross Society in Finland, to be used according to its programme meant to help the zones which have suffered most in Romania.

Jewish Community Message

AU2812005089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1846 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Message of the Jewish Community in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The Free Romanian Television has released a message from all the Jewish communities in Romania, from all the servants of the Mosaic denomination, who assure the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council of their unrestrained devotion to the cause of the Romanian people who have overthrown tyranny and won their freedom through a fight of unparalleled heroism. The message carries the wish of full success in the noble fight for a Romania free and just to all of its sons, irrespective of nationality.

It is signed by Moses Rosen, the chief rabbi of the Mosaic denomination, chairman of the community of the Jewish federation in Romania.

Foreign Donation Accounts

AU2712200389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 851 GMT 27 Dec 89

["'Aid Romania Fund' Account"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Numerous foreign firms, international organizations, businessmen, scientists and artists, and other foreign entities have expressed their wish to aid Romania, the victims of the terrorism of the former dictatorship by depositing various sums in convertible currencies.

To answer these requests, the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade has opened the account "Aid Romania Fund" where these sums are to be deposited and put at the disposal of the National Salvation Front to be used according to the instructions of the donors.

Humanitarian Aid From USSR

AU2712232489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] As stated to the TASS Agency by the USSR Red Cross chairman, Dimitri Benedyktov, important amounts of medicines, surgical instruments, stretchers, bandages, clothes and food, other necessary items are ready at the International Airport Sheremetievo in Moscow, to be dispatched to Romania.

In turn, Igor Denisov, deputy minister of health of the USSR mentioned that special teams of surgeons, neurosurgeons, traumatologists and anaesthetists were set up at the main stations of the scientific research units in Moscow. They are ready to go to Romania in case of need and work together with Romanian fellow doctors as long as needed.

French Supply Aid

AU2712212689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1949 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Aid From France"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Paris AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—A French logistic team has left France for Bucharest to evaluate France's humanitarian aid to Romania. "World's Physicians" and "Physicians Without Frontiers" organizations have noted as stringent necessities medical and surgical equipment, blood, antibiotics, anesthetics and nonperishable foods. Most of the French aid for Romania will be sent on 2 January by a special train with 40 cars of 20 tonnes each.

Aid From Moldavian Republic

AU2812005189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1405 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Humanitarian Aid"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Adding to the humanitarian aid sent to Romania by the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, on December 25 the following products came across the border: tomatoes—one wagon; apple juice—one wagon; medicines—two wagons; food—three wagons; flour—two wagons; sugar—two wagons; pasta—two wagons; rice—one wagon; butter—one wagon; butter and canned food—one wagon;

shoes—one wagon; ready mades—one wagon; sunflower oil—three wagons; and on December 26 another wagon full of medicine and food.

The Romanians employed by the Romanian-West German Joint Society "Romaniafruchtimport" have decided to offer help worth 17,000 marks and to send certain amounts of medicine, food and clothing, with joint effort and with help from some partner companies.

Aid From U.S., Japan, Switzerland

AU2712233889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The United States of America has earmarked 500,000 dollars for the purchase, first of all, of medicines for the victims of the reprisals in Romania. The U.S. Agency for Aid and Development (USAID) has announced that the money will be turned over to the International Red Cross Committee that coordinates the activities of assistance in Romania.

Another 25,000 dollars had been previously earmarked for the same purpose, from an emergency fund for natural and social disasters at the disposal of the U.S. ambassador in Romania.

These funds will be used for the purchase and transport of medicines and other medical staff and for medical care. The USAID adds that the Americans wishing to contribute to aiding the victims of the reprisals in Romania were asked to send cash rather than products, since the latter are more expensive to transport, often unfit and sometimes create sticking.

Tokyo: The Japanese Government has decided to grant Romania one million dollars as emergency aid. The aid will be given through the agency of the International Red Cross Committee and will consist of medical assistance for wounded and of food.

The Japanese Red Cross will soon send to Romania a team of six medical doctors and will supply medicines worth 100,000 yens (715,000 dollars).

Berne: A train of four trucks carrying aid has left the Swiss Canton of Lucerne, making for Romania. They carry 27 tons of clothes and footwear, 13,700 overcoats and about 10 tons of powder milk, tins, products raised by the main four Swiss humanitarian organizations, including the Red Cross Society.

NSF Expresses Gratitude for Foreign Aid

AU2512022089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2336 GMT 24 Dec 89

["First Aid Arrives in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 24/12/1989—The Council of the Front of National Salvation thanks all governments that have offered humanitarian assistance to Romania under these circumstances when the Romanian people is winning its right to a truly free life, to democracy and dignity, when the Romanian Army, the whole people are fighting to liquidate the terrorist gangs of the deposed dictator. The Council welcomes with gratitude any humanitarian help medical assistance, drugs, food in these difficult moments and informs that such like humanitarian aid has already arrived here from France, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Further Reaction, Comment on Romanian Events

'Terror' Condemned

LD2312195189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Delegates and guests at the 11th Slovene League of Communists Congress passed a resolution condemning the brutal terror perpetrated on behalf of the authorities in Romania.

"We are disgusted by the dictatorship in Romania, which has been condemned to death by the tragic events and mindlessness," stresses the resolution adopted last night. Democratic changes in this country are also welcomed and supported, with the wish that current processes in Romania enable the victory of the legal means and principles of humanism, something which will contribute to the creation of a democratic Europe, desired by all its peoples. "Our support for democracy in Romania too will receive its moral confirmation if we are prepared, consistently and without procrastination, to remove from the life of Yugoslav society all the remnants of old attitudes and repressive decision making on the rights and life of people and nations, which are based on those traditions of socialism which in Romania have led to the scorn for human dignity which has been witnessed in Romania," the resolution says.

Iliescu Congratulated

LD2712175389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek today congratulated Ion Iliescu on his appointment as president of the National Salvation Front of Romania.

In a telegram, sent on behalf of the Presidency, Drnovsek pointed out the unanimous solidarity of all Yugoslav citizens with the Romanian people in the crucial period they are going through.

The Yugoslav president expressed in the telegram the hope that the situation in Romania will stabilize successfully soon, and that the democratic achievements, for which the Romanian people sacrificed so many lives, will strengthen.

The telegram also sets out the conviction that cooperation between the two neighbouring countries in all fields, including the economic, will also contribute to the quicker economic recovery and prosperity of Romania.

Foreign Secretary Visits Timisoara 27 Dec

LD2712204889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1837 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Timisoara, December 27 (TANJUG)—Thanks to the Yugoslav consul general in Timisoara and the Yugoslav [words indistinct] were able to establish and maintain the until recently broken-off contacts with the whole world, the head of the National Salvation Front of the Timis region, Lorien Fortuna, stated in a talk with Assistant Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Ilija Djukic here today.

Djukic arrived in Timisoara today from Bucharest, where he met, as envoy of the Yugoslav Government, with President of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania Ion Iliescu and new Romanian Premier Petru Roman. Djukic was the first representative of a foreign government to meet with the new Romanian leadership.

Lorien Fortuna told Djukic that the Timisoara Front in full accepts the programme of the Bucharest National Salvation Committee and operates as part of that committee.

Fortuna said that the Timisoara Front wants to participate in the April 30 elections [words indistinct] called "Romanian Democratic Front" so that it will [word indistinct] all newly formed parties with similar programmes to join forces and participate in the elections together. Fortuna expressed the opinion that the National Salvation Committee should constitute itself as a single party with a social-democratic orientation before the elections.

Djukic, for his part, set out that the Yugoslav people respect and will respect the will of the Romanian people and that Yugoslavia particularly appreciates the new Romanian authorities' stance on national minorities. He underscored that Romania can count on Yugoslavia's full political, material and humanitarian assistance.

The Yugoslav delegation today laid flowers outside the cathedral in Timisoara in the centre of the city, where the largest number of people were killed in clashes with Ceausescu's supporters.

Unrest, Strikes in Belgrade Reported; Demands Made

Workers Demand Pay Raise

LD2712181289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with their personal incomes, about 1,000 workers of the communal enterprise for the maintenance buildings and apartments in Belgrade arrived in front of the SFRY Assembly to express their dissatisfaction with their material status. They are not demanding to talk with SFRY Assembly's officials but do demand that their personal incomes be raised, which, according to them, amounts to 3 million dinars on average.

'Several Thousand' Workers Gather

LD2712180989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Several thousand workers of the Industry of Machinery and Tractors [IMT] of Belgrade, dissatisfied with their salaries, arrived about 1520 in front of the SFRY Assembly, shouting "Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia," and "We want freedom."

The gathered workers are carrying Slobodan Milosevic's photograph and flags of the SFRY, Serbia, and the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia].

Officials Resign; More Strikes

AU2712194589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The general director of the Belgrade machine and tractor factory, the trade union leadership, and the workers council submitted their irrevocable resignations at the demand of the workers of this collective, who protested this evening outside the SFRY Assembly. Representatives of the strike committee of IMT [the Machine and Tractor Factory] informed the workers that pay can only be increased by up to 50 percent.

Strikes were held by employees at the Novi Sad (Hins) firm, by salespeople at the Gradina trading company in Titovo Uzice, workers at the Prva Petoletka factory in Trstenik, drivers of the Lasta enterprise in Smederevo, and employees at the car factory in Priboj. The strike by about 700 workers of amenities organizations of Belgrade outside the city assembly ended with the agreement that wages will be paid on Friday.

TANJUG Reports Strikes

LD2712222889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1944 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—While the workers of a Belgrade firm protested outside the federal parliament and the Yugoslav trade union leadership discussed the possibility of staging "(?a) general strike" next spring, the federal government was setting out the draft of the first post-war law on the rights and duties of parties involved in strikes.

A spate of strikes spread in some parts of Yugoslavia over the past few days and the latest one was staged tonight outside the federal parliament building. 3,000 workers of the tractor and engine factory IMT of Belgrade protested and the outcome of their strike could have been anticipated—the [words indistinct] trade union representatives resigned and the workers received a 50-percent pay increase.

Not far from the federal parliament building, the Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions said that the government's and parliament's compromise last night to increase the wages of around 70 percent of employees in Yugoslavia by 20 to 43 percent could not guarantee social endurance at the beginning of 1990.

The biggest anti-inflationary effects of the government measures are to be felt then. The government measures envisage a wage-freeze of sorts and the free forming of prices of a large number of goods.

At the end of the meeting, Trade Union Confederation President Andjelko Vasic said that the trade union was not abandoning the idea of strikes as a means of the workers' struggle, but said that the issue could be discussed in two-three months when the effects of Prime Minister Ante Markovic government's programme on curbing the country's 2660-percent [as received] inflation will be felt.

In the meantime, the government said that the new law would rule out the possibility of violations of the workers' right to strike as well as the possibilities of its abuse. The law will protect the striking workers from any possible sanctions, but will also set out the duties of all the involved parties.

IMT workers were today joined by the town utility workers, miners of the Rembas pit in Yugoslavia's biggest republic of Serbia, around 1,800 workers of a chemical plant in Novi Sad and the workers of an electrode and ferroalloy plant in the coastal town of Sibenik. High school teachers in Yugoslavia's economically most jeopardized Republic of Montenegro were also on strike today, as well as the drivers of the Cazmatrans road transport carrier firm of the Croatian town of Vukovar and the miners of two coal mines in eastern Serbia.

Albanian Separatists Demonstrate in Prizren

AU2712215889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] About 50 demonstrators gathered in a new district of Prizren this evening. The Albanian separatists and nationalists shouted the hostile slogan: "Kosovo republic by will or with arms," and demolished several cars. A group of masked demonstrators made for the outlying district of Dusanovo where Albanian separatists clashed with members of the organs of law and order in March this year. Members of the militia are trying to disperse the demonstrators.

LCY Members Polled on Democratic Centralism

LD2212111589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] on the whole supports the commitment to democratic centralism as the main principle in the party's activity. This conclusion has been made on the basis of the outcome of a recent opinion poll of the party membership, in which as many as 70 percent of 5,000 members canvassed

throughout Yugoslavia came in favor of democratic centralism, with 30 percent against.

The opinion poll conducted by the Zagreb University Research Institute on behalf of the LCY Central Committee's Center for Social Research indicates that one-half of those supporting democratic centralism insist on considerably stricter observance of the principle while the other half is satisfied with the status quo.

The view that democratic centralism should be renewed and enhanced was supported by 38 percent of those polled in Bosnia-Hercegovina; 47 percent in Montenegro; 25 percent in Croatia; 42 percent in Macedonia; 14 percent in Slovenia; 43 percent in Serbia; 33 percent in Kosovo; and 40 percent in Vojvodina.

A total of 38 percent in Bosnia-Hercegovina, 31 percent in Montenegro, 39 percent in Croatia, 26 percent in Macedonia, 13 percent in Slovenia, 38 percent in Serbia, 30 percent in Kosovo, and 37 percent in Vojvodina want to see democratic principle maintained in its present form.

The suggestion that democratic centralism should be abandoned bcause of its inefficiency was supported by 12 percent of members polled in Bosnia-Hercegovina; 12 percent in Montenegro; 18 percent in Croatia; 19 percent in Macedonia; 26 percent in Slovenia; 12 percent in Serbia; 15 percent in Kosovo; and 13 percent in Vojvodina.

The view that democratic centralism should be replaced with the principle of consensus is favored by 12 percent of those canvassed in Bosnia-Herceogovina; 10 percent in Montenegro; 19 percent in Croatia; 13 percent in Macedonia; 47 percent in Slovenia; 7 percent in Serbia; 22 percent in Kosovo; and 10 percent in Vojvodina.

As was expected, there were differences in views on these issues between LC members from different environments. An evident pro-consensus attitude exists among Slovene LC members, and slightly less in Croatia and Kosovo. An overwhelming pro democratic-centralism attitude is in evidence among LC members in Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina.

LCY Presidium Prepares for CC Session

LD1212102789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today chaired by Milan Pancevski, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium considered the preparations for the forthcoming 29th session of the LCY Central Committee. A statement from this session says: "The Presidium has assessed that the preparations for and the convening of the congresses and conferences of the republican and provincial LCs and the LCY Congress, as well as analyzing and assessing the work in the period between the two congresses, are the priority tasks, and that all energies should be chaneled toward calming the situation in the country, which is marked by a further deterioration in interethnic relations and tendencies toward the country's disintegration, and to seeking solutions to the social and economic crisis.

Proceeding from the assesments and stances laid down in the statement from the LCY Central Committee Presidium's session on 5 December, the Presidium concluded:

—The current social, political, and economic situation demands that all society's creative potentials and all the subjective socialist forces address themselves, as a matter of priority, toward implementing the comprehensive social reform. It is necessary to invest maximum efforts to have a qualitative and consistent concept of the country's new economic policy and the endorsement of the program for curbing inflation prepared as soon as possible, because inflation is the source and hotbed of numerous problems in society. Therefore Communists, particularly those in the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council, should persist in upholding reformist commitments and in creating a climate in which these crucial issues for the country's emergence from the crisis would really become dominant and would be discused in a tolerant, democratic and constructive atmosphere.

—The key point of the current social confrontations is the issue of relations in the federation, its future character, and the basic principles of our federalism. That is why it is necessary to intensify considerably the preparations for the new SFRY Constitution. At its next session, the Central Committee will endorse the draft ideopolitical system and propose it to the 14th congress as the principal direction for Communists' activities in these extremely complex social task.

—The overall unfavorable political situation in the country has especially negative effects on the difficult and complex situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and greatly impedes the efforts at stabilizing the situation in this province. Therefore, the policy on Kosovo adopted by the LCY must be implemented consistently in Kosovo just as in other environments too, and the overall situation in the country must also be stabilized.

—Considering the degree of interethnic and interrepublican misunderstandings and conflicts and the highly unfavorable political atmosphere in the country, it is necessary to direct the forthcoming congresses of the republican LCs toward the principal issues and to contribute to the creation of a more positive political climate in the country. Communists and all the creative and progressive forces in the country must direct their activities toward the stabilization of the political situation in the country, and provide in the most direct way for qualitative preparations for the 14th extraordinary LCY congress.

—The Presidium particularly notes that the current political situation in the country requires the highest degree of responsibility and involvement on the part of Communists in carrying out these priority tasks as well as the full mobility, involvement and responsibility of the state organs for carrying out the economic reform's tasks in timely response to social events. These are the things on which not only does the success of the 14th extraordinary LCY congress depend but also the prosperity and integrity of our socialist self-managing community. In this respect the members, organizations, and organs of the LCY face historic responsibility.

Given the fact that the Croatian LC Congress is under way and that in the coming days the congresses of the Serbian LC and the Slovene LC will follow, as well as the Socialist Alliance of Working People Federal Conference's session and the SFRY Assembly's session, the Presidium decided to hold the next session of the LCY Central Committee on 26 and 27 December 1989.

11th Slovene LC Congress Proceedings Reported

22 Dec Session

LD2312231189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Opening the 11th Congress of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] that began today in Cankar Hall in Ljubljana, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee [CC] Presidium, first congratulated members of the armed forces on their day and then greeted the guests—the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] CC delegation, headed by Marko Colic, the delegations of all the republican and provincial LC CC's, the delegation of the Army Party Organization and the other guests. The top meeting of the Slovene communists is attended by 409 delegates and about 206 guests. The work of the congress is being reported by about 300 journalists from 100 newspapers, TV and radio stations, including 20 foreign correspondents.

The Slovene LC is embarking on its 11th congress as the only communist party in power which has decided, without the pressure of the demonstrations and mass indignation of its fellow citizens, to introduce multiparty system and announce democratic elections, Milan Kucan stressed in his address. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the LCY Central Committee, the 11th Congress of the Slovene LC was addressed by Marko Lolic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who stressed that in the struggle for the new project of democratic socialism and for Yugoslavia, the LC is not isolated from the momentous historical events and processes in the international community and the countries of Eastern Europe.

Speaking in particular about Kosovo, Marko Lolic stressed that the solution to that problem is primarily the duty and responsibility of the Kosovo LC and the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, but at the same time it is a common Yugoslav concern and also the duty of the entire LCY and all socialist and democratic forces and state organs.

Following the plenary session, the congress continued its work in the afternoon in four groups which were not divided according to thematic areas; rather the delegates were divided alphabetically. The debates showed that the delegates have no intention of repeating the views of the introductory speaker, whose report they otherwise fully support. A proposal was voiced that the obsolete provision that a member of the Slovene LC must be a member of the LCY should be deleted from the statute, and that the Slovene LC should change its name to the League of Slovene Socialists, and the LCY to the League of Socialists of Yugoslavia, and that there should be complete independence and autonomy of the Slovene Communists.

The congress delegates were also informed that within the Slovene LC a "Democratic Youth Forum" of young members of the party is being formed. Several participants in the discussion noted the catastrophically low birth rate in Slovenia and proposed the formation of a special ministry for the families and children.

Matjaz Kmecl concluded that it should be clearly and directly said that we are prepared as friends and brothers to cooperate with anyone who speaks the truth and does not proclaim blockades. The Slovene LC should consider whether to leave an organization which does not want it. Vinko Hafner was against radical changes in the organizational structure and name of the LC, and questioned whether the renewed LC will continue to preserve the essence of the working class communist movement, or whether it will reject it and in the near future transform itself into some kind of socialist, or social democratic party. Such ideas, Hafner considers, are primarily the result of the demoralization and ideological confusion of a significant number of Communists, caused by the present, long-lasting political and economic crisis.

The delegates have interrupted their group discussions, and at 2000 [1900 GMT] they will meet in their second plenary session to debate the candidate lists.

23 Dec Session

LD2312232589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Working groups of the 11th Congress of the Slovene League Communist [LC] continued their work on the second and final day of the congress. In all three groups, in which the delegates were divided up alphabetically and in which there was discussion on all congress. In all three groups, in which the delegates were divided up alphabetically and in which there was discussion on all congress topics, about 100 delegates took part in the discussions. Analyzing the so-called party settling of scores with the past, opinions

were divided, but those taking part in the debate agreed that the methods of differentiation are outmoded and unacceptable. Many delegates belived that the so-called negative mortgage of the past of the LC should be wiped clean if it wants, of course as a party, to succeed unburdened in a pluralistic system.

Delegates in the fourth group advocated a break with the outmoded methods of the internal party settling of scores and the adoption of a special congress resolution condemning the former settling of scores with the people. A proposal by Bozidar Gorjan to drop from the text of the Slovene LC statute the terminology which is old and difficult to accept on the role of Josip Broz Tito in the development of unity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as his view that a new text should be written on the basis of contemporary knowledged on the true and great services of Tito to development communism in Yugoslavia, met with a number of opposing views of delegates. Gorjan also proposed a similar thing for Boris Kidric and Edvard Kardelj. However, the view prevailed that this is nothing to do with the party statute, but the work of historians.

The initiative by Koper Communists to open up hitherto inaccessible archives and present to the public wartime and postwar history, above all from the Stalinist period, met with approval.

Today, too, attention was devoted to the program and measures of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], which Janez Zemljaric assessed very positively, especially in relation to the law on social capital; Zemljaric beleives that the FEC measures in this context are a step beyond what was proposed in the program document of the Slovene LC. Franc Setinc devoted his attention to the problem of Kosovo, saying that it does not seem to him to be all right for us to be disgusted by what is happening in Romania, while we say nothing decisive about what is happening in Kosovo every day. Setinc sees the only possible way out in the democratic resolution of this big problem.

The debates did not bypass the area of protection and defense, and here Vlado Kocajn demanded that the Slovene LC be committed to its policy in this field. A draft formulation saying that there is no need for military courts in peacetime was accepted. However, the suggestion of Stanko Meglic that the LC is the only one responsible for cadre policy in the armed forces was not accepted.

The history, connected with the Communist Party or rather the LC, occupied the attention of several delegates, among whom Franc Pipan assessed that everything did not begin with Cebine [where the Slovene Communist Party was founded] and advocated a new portrayal of the history of the Slovene Party and the Slovene LC, as well as the valuation of other historical events and processes. The initiative of Silvo Gorenc that the congress rehabilitate Stane Kavcic and other communists who because of their political ideas had been underestimated, was accepted.

Kucan's Extended Term Approved

LD2312235589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2237 GMT 23 Dec 89

[text] Ljubljana, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, until now president of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, and now a member of the Central Committee, will probably remain a member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia until the end of the Republican Presidency's term. The congress unanimously supported the proposal of Silva Jereb that the interim provisions of the statute of the Slovene LC empower the Slovene LC Central Committee to prolong the term of office of Milan Kucan, something that in the words of Petar Bekes, a member of the Slovene LC Central Committee, is not in contravention of the constitution of the Slovene LC.

Bekes told TANJUG's reporter that the republican constitution does not determine explicitly which member of the Slovene LC Central Committee occupies the post of the Republican Presidency's ex officio members. The president of the Central Committe Presidium may occupy this post, as regularly has the case been so far, or a first man of any of the LC Central Committee's Commission, according to the Central Committee's decision.

Multiparty System Endorsed

LD2412061189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0410 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Communists will urge a multi-party system, and their participation in power in such conditions will depend on the confidence shown in them by the Slovenian electorate, Ciril Ribicic, the newly-elected president of the League of Communists of Slovenia, said at the closing of the two-day party congress in Ljubljana this evening. [as received]

After abandoning its monopoly, the party should head for a comprehensive organizational change, especially in such areas as internal affairs, justice and administration, said Ribicic.

The new party leader came out with more radical views than those expressed so far in the republic. On Slovenia's position, Ribicic said that "in the previous period, Slovenian Communists opted for most courageous reforms among the socialist countries".

Milan Kucan, the party chief so far, will remain member of the Central Committee Presidency. Ribicic said that in the next elections Kucan would be candidate for the republic's top state leadership, as his policy so far had been assessed as successful.

Ribicic, 42, holds a doctorate in law and teaches at the Ljubljana Law School. He has published several studies on constitutional law and the organization of the federation.

More on Multiparty Pluralism

LD2712214689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1918 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—After a lengthy and often polemical debate, the delegates of the Slovene Assembly adopted, with certain changes and amendments, the proposed package of laws on elections in the SR of Slovenia.

These are primarily the law on political association and the law on elections to the Assembly. Their adoption makes multiparty political pluralism legal in Slovenia.

Elections to the Assembly will be held in April next year. Some 20 political organizations and alliances in Slovenia will take part in them.

Serbian LC CC Lists Candidates

LD0812190189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—Today, the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee at its final session in the present composition, unanimously confirmed the earlier proposal that Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, incumbent president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, and Tomica Raicevic, vice president of the management board of the Bor mining and metallurgical combine, be nominated for the post of the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

At the session, which established final lists of candidates for party posts in Serbia and Yugoslavia, the Central Committee confirmed nominations of Milomir Minic, incumbent secretary of the presidium, and Dr Vlajko Petkovic, Presidium member, for the post of secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

These candidates, Milenko Petrovic explained in his introductory report; received absolute support from the rank and file, although advantage was given to Bogdan Trifunovic and Milomir Minic.

One hundred seventy-nine candidates were registered for a new composition of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which will have 157 members. The previous list was reduced by 38 names and several new candidates were proposed. [passage omitted]

Out of 33 candidates for the Statutory Commission, 29 will be elected, out of 17 candidates for the Supervisory Commission, 15 will be elected.

A list of 29 candidates was established for members of the LCY Central Committee. At the republican congress, the list will be reduced to 17 candidates, out of which the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress will elect 15 members of the LCY Central Committee.

So far, there are 22 candidates for the new Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Milenko Petrovic explained that the final list will be established by the present Presidium, after consultations with the provincial, intermunicipal and Belgrade LCY city committees.

The following are candidates for membership in the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium: Zoran Andjelkovic, Dr Dobrosav Bjeletic, Remzi Bunjaku, Vico Ratomir, Budimir Vukovic, Dr Slobodanka Gruden, Zuzana Dobo, Svetozar Krstic, Milomir Minic, Rahman Morina, Zoran Ognjanovic, Dr Vlajko, Petkovic, Milenko Petrovic, Dr Dejan Popovic, Tomica Raicevic, Bora Radovic, Rados Sailjkovic, Dr Branislav Todorovic, Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, Tahir Hasanovic, Dusan Celic, and Nedeljko Sipovac.

The following are proposed for the post of executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium: Dragan Ilic, Dr Miomir Jaksic, Cviko Krunic, Dr Vladan Kutlesic, Djordje Malovrazic, and Dragoljub Milanovic.

Dragan Jokic was nominated as president of the Statutory Commission, and Nikola Jovanovic as vice president of the commission. Tomislav Jovanovic was nominated as president of the Petitions and Complaints Commission.

For the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, 66 candidates were proposed, 60 of whom will be elected at the republican party congress.

The Central Committe then adopted the Code of Practice of the work of the 11th congress of this republic's Communists.

Milomir Minic acquainted the members of the Serbian LC Central Committee with its Presidium's stands in the wake of, as the chairman said, the violation of human rights in Slovenia.

The measures taken by the authorities in Slovenia, Minic said, constitute a most brutal attack on citizens' freedoms and rights. They have brought about a great deal of embitterment in Serbia, where the freedom and dignity of people are priceless. The measures taken in our republic are the expression of our responsible attitude toward the fact that in one part of our Yugoslav homeland, its Constitution, is being breached: freedom is being restricted; and basic human rights suspended, along with the expression of patriotic conscience and the defense of national equality, Milomir Minic said. He went on to stress that one could no longer keep silent in the face of the irresponsible assessments and arbitrary dismissals of the fate of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

Noting that the Slovene leadership for years has been supporting and encouraging the Albanian nationalists and separatists and opposing the LCY policy for Kosovo,

Milomir Minic went on to say that all this was just the expression of the separatist and conservative policy in Slovenia; which long has been attempting to keep at bay the changes needed for Yugoslavia's emergence from the crisis. The aim of this policy is to preserve the existing political and economic monopolies of Slovenia; halt the reforms; implement the republican constitution, which changes relations in the federation in a one-sided way; and break up the unified LCY.

Therefore, Milomir Minic concluded, the conditions for emerging from the present situation will be created once the SFRY Constitution has been implemented in Slovenia, when the dignity of people and nations ceases to be denigrated, and when Slovenia's policy of supporting Albanian nationalists and separatists is replaced by a consistent implementation of the Yugoslav policy for Kosovo. At Milomir Minic's proposal, these stands were adopted without much debate since, as he put it, all is clear.

Concluding the session, Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, paid a tribute to this composition of the Central Committee and Serbia's Communists for, as he said, their contribution between the two congresses to the initiative for taking action on all of society's key issues, and particularly to their efforts toward enabling the Socialist Republic of Serbia to assume an equal status—something that belongs to it—within the SFRY.

Serbian Youth Group Condemns New Organization

LD1612061989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the republican conference of the Serbian SSO [Socialist Youth Organization] has assessed that an attempt to found a Movement for Democratic Renewal represented a serious abuse of the republican conference, something which brought into question its well-known stance on political pluralism and democracy.

The Presidium statement says among other things that a number of permanent employees in the republican conference of the Serbian SSO secretly carried out preparations for the founding of a Movement for Democratic Renewal. The initiators of the foundation of the Movement tried to organize themselves in line with the aims contained in the electoral program of the Serbian SSO. In fact, they perfidiously abused it by convening an initiative committee without the Presidium's knowledge.

The basic, regular procedure regarding the foundation of such forms of political activity in the framework of the Serbian SSO was not respected, the statement says and adds that the individuals who participated in this have been relieved of their duties.

11th Serbian LC Congress Held in Belgrade

15 Dec Session

LD1612052989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—The first day of the session of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia, in which 1,066 delegates and a large number of guests are participating, ended this evening some time after 2200. During the day, two plenary sessions were held, and a discussion, in which about 120 delegates took part, was conducted in four theme-based groups—for the reform of the LC, the political system, the economic system, and the social sector.

The highest gathering of Serbian Communists, which, it has been heralded, will last 3 days, resumes tomorrow morning with a plenary session and afterward with fresh sessions of the theme-based groups.

Thematic Groups Resume Work

LD1612222189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0912 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The 11th Congress of the Serbian LC [League of Communists] continued its work in thematic groups—for the reform of the LC and statutory questions, for the political system, the economic system, and reform of social activities—at 0900 GMT.

Nearly 200 participants in all four groups have asked to take part in the debate. So far 126 have spoken and 26 have submitted contributions to the debate.

Debates at Congress

LD1712180389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Contradictory stances on political pluralism, and—above all—on the multiparty system, came to the fore in the debate in the afternoon part of the session of the 11th Congress of the Serbian League of Communists [LC]. The most polemical discussions on this were conducted in the groups for the reform of the LC and the political system, where there were several direct confrontations "for and against the multiparty system."

In the group for the reform of the LC, Jovan Dacic, speaking about pluralism, said picturesquely: "Whoever is afraid is not the one to enter battle." Political association should be permitted, Svetozar Krstic added, but in such a way that the rights of others are not endangered. The party should not impede free political organization, but in this it will not "lend assistance."

Miroslav Jovanovic requests a united party statute and the abolition of all the presidia of the central committees and the provincial committees. He is for one leading post

in the LC—that of the president of the LCY CC Presidium. He requests the abolition of the inter-municipal LC committees.

Ljiljana Bulatovic believes that it is not Communists who have contributed to the degradation of the LC's reputation, but alienated sections of it. I am anxious about the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY because the Central Committee of the LC did not "live up to the 8th session" as it should have done. According to her, Islamic fundamentalism represents a hostile and destructive force. Tito, she says, is exceptionally important, but I cannot agree with his glorification at any price.

Her words were followed by a number of replies while Slobodanka Gruden, the chairman, warned that the LC opposed all nationalisms and separatisms so there is no need for it to voice its attitude toward each of them separately. Fadila Zelenovic replied to Ljiljana Bulatovic by saying that science ought to provide an objective assessment of Josip Broz Tito's role. Until this has been done, I cannot accept any hasty decisions, she noted, so the congressional documents should treat Tito in the same way he has been treated to date. Ejub Musovic said that it is inhuman to exacerbate nationalism in the manner of the newspaper whose editor is Ljiljana Bulatovic. It is disgraceful to talk about one nationalism while hushing up the other.

Rados Smiljkovic's address was also followed by reactions because he contended that it is not the LC that should be blamed for the crisis but the bureaucracy. In his opinion, in the parliamentary systems the multiparty system is being questioned and self-management is being contemplated, since so far there has not appeared any theory more progressive than Marxism. He characterized the existing sociopolitical organizations as the subjects of political pluralism.

Jelena Popovic replied to him by saying that advocating partyless plusalism is "unconvincing." Branko Dakovic asked—who has bred the bureaucracy if it has not been the LC? Slobodan Vlaisavljevic assessed Smiljkovic's address as "directed," which was "not good."

In the Group for the Transformation of the Political System, too, there were statements in favor of the multiparty system, something that, for example, Jovan Koprivica did on condition that the newly formed parties assume a socialist, democratic, and Yugoslav character. Momcilo Trajkovic reacted by calling on the delegates to consider carefully—what does advocating a multiparty system mean when there is no freedom of life in one part of the country.

Dobrivoje Djurdjevic replied by speaking explicitly in favor of the multiparty system. Who needs the LC, he asked, the one that has over 45 years of its rule led workers to the verge of poverty? We are sitting in this glamorous edifice and swearing to the LC while only 8 kilometers away is the municipality of Cukarica that "looks like the most unurbanized settlement in South America." Several delegates dissociated themselves from Djurdjevic's remarks.

Speaking about the difficult economic situation, Djordje Nedeljkovic stated in the Group for the Reform of the Economic System: "The Germans did not defeat us with machine guns and tanks but with the German marks." Branislav Milosevic proposed that Serbia's delegation in the Federal Assembly be told not to vote on the FEC's measures but to demand its immediate resignation. This was followed by an applause.

Petar Jugovic criticized Janez Drnovsek, saying that he behaves as Slovenia's president and not Yugoslavia's.

Today's session of the thematic groups at the congress of Serbian Communists ended at 2200. The beginning of the fourth plenary session and the results of the vote are still expected.

Closing Session

LD1712223289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The closing plenary session of the 11th congress of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] was presided over by Slobodan Milosevic who informed the delegates at the outset about the outcome of elections to the organs of the Serbian LC Central Committee. He proceeded by extending congratulations to the elected members.

Milomir Minic then informed the congress about the fate of proposed amendments to the congress documents. His first comment was that Bogdan Trifunovic's speech had received unreserved support from the delegates.

We recommend, he said, that the congress place an obligation on the Serbian LC Central Committee to ensure that all initiatives, proposals, suggestions, and specific ideas are worked out and incorporated into a program of its political activity, Minic said.

He noted that the debate at and the documents and resolutions of the 11th Serbian LC Congress reflect the deep democratic changes taking place in the Serbian LC. Our congress has convincingly reiterated the fact that the people—the working class as well as the LC membership—have arrived on the political scene, that they have become involved in politics on a large scale and that the ossified forms of political work are being destroyed, the secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee stressed.

A total of 543 delegates and guests have spoken during the congress. This is a congress of and for reform, Minic said, going on to stress that a desire for change, for something new and progressive featured prominently at the congress. Serbian communists see the reforms as a way of doing away with delusions and mistakes of the past, as a way toward a rich, democratic, and humane society.

With an abundance of arguments delegates openly criticized the existence of great resistance to changes, acquired privileges, and attempts to maintain them. Support for the Serbian leadership and its LC is accompaneid by a call for the policy, which has yielded obvious results and which was embarked on at the 8th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, to be consistently and determinedly continued.

This was a workers' congress, a congress of truth, and a congress of democracy, Minic emphasized.

A unanimous stand that came to the fore at the congress is that a united, modern, developed, and democratic Serbia is a strong factor of stability and progress for Yugoslavia. It is an illusion to think that attacks on Serbia, bans, and invocation of the past can halt the process of democratic changes in our republic. Everyone in Yugoslavia will have to accept the idea of a united Serbia.

Speaking about the inevitability of radical reform of the economy, Minic stressed that a more rational way of organizing the economy as well as greater economic motivation on the basis of entrepreneurialship with the aim of increasing profitability are demanded.

Commenting on the debate on reforming the political system, Minic noted that at the congress democracy was viewed from many angles. It was referred to in the course of discussions about the new face of socialism, the forms of ownership, the character and future of Yugoslav federation, the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, and national equality.

The delegates gave their unreserved support to the stance on political pluralism outlined by Bogdan Trifunovic in his report. It is requested that this part be integrated into and accepted as a congress document.

The debate on Kosovo at the congress was not colored by national divisions. We are encouraged by the belief that the constitutional changes in the republic coupled with many positive changes in both Kosovo and Serbia have, despite all the existing problems and resistance, created conditions for dealing a final blow to Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo and for coexistence and harmony among people.

The main message of all debates conducted at the congress is that a reform in the social sector must be based on scientifically perceived needs of our social development and that it must be in line with economic and technological development and restructuring in the republic's economy, Minic stressed.

Minic went on by stressing the importance of a critical evaluation of our cultural heritage as a basis for cultural renaissance and an upsurge in artistic creativity. We must be much faster in ridding ourselves of the prejudice that culture cannot be evaluated in a crisis situation or that conditions cannot be created for its further development.

In reference to the debate on a reform in the LC and changes and amendments to the statute of the Serbian LC and the statute of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], Minic stressed that delegates were insistent that the LC should in no way distance itself from its social basis.

It is the delegates' unreserved view that the Serbian LC should arrange its relations, its organization, and its activities in line with the principle of democratic centralism considerably enriched by new features and activities in which democracy is given priority and which implies initiative and involvement by all membership and basic organizations.

Minic emphasized that the vanguard nature of the LC would not be stipulated, rather, the LC will have to assert it in democratic and social practice. Delegates called for more responsible use of the party membership fee funds and for a reduced membership fee. The Serbian LC Central Committee must carry out radical measures to reduce and rationalize specialist services, costs, and number of officials. This rationalization must be carried out up to the point where it will still be possible for the LC to execute reforms agreed on at the congress.

The secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee stressed that the delegates gave their undivided support to a united LCY and to the need for holding the LCY congress on the envisaged date.

Minic also stressed demands for a new Constitution and a new program for the LCY.

Milomir Minic made special reference to the calls for reexamining some assessments and decisions made by the Serbian LC Central Committee in the past regarding the political rehabilitation of some individuals and the responsibility of some people for divisions in Serbia and nationalist counterrevolution in Kosovo. He placed special emphasis on the one-time unacceptable attitude to a number of intellectuals in Serbia. He stressed that, by its commitment and work over the last 2 years, the Serbian LC had shown that, as far as it is concerned, there are no taboo subjects either in the sphere of development problems or with regard to the historical processes that preceded them.

In view of this critical reassessment is necessary ater a historical phase in our development, which in turn implies reassessing political views of the role of individual personalities. All this must, however, be placed in the historical context in which events took place, but without trying to reprieve anyone of mistakes committed. Restrictions must be lifted on public use of original archive documents relating to our postwar period regardless of the compulsory 30-year time distance.

In reference to a congress resolution, Jablan Obradovic proposed that the name, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, be changed into the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as the latter reflects the need for unity much

better. He stressed that communists do not want a monopoly of power but they do wish to be in the forefront of efforts to promote labor and the results of that labor. Milan Grbisic proposed that Slobodan Milosevic, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Borisav Jovic be awarded the order of socialist labor.

Delegate Nesko Mandic of Pirot proposed that an initiative be set in motion to reexamine the historical role of Edvard Kardelj, who in his view was the ideological force behind current disintegrational processes in Yugoslavia. In forwarding this proposal, which the delegates greeted with applause, Mandic linked Kardelj with the 1974 Constitution, which Serbian Communists almost unanimously see as the main cause of divisions in Yugoslavia.

"The cult of Josip Broz Tito must be removed from our political scene," Jovan Koprivica, a lawyer from Belgrade, said. In his view, history should be allowed to assess Tito's work. This prompted delegate Milica Rajic to propose that the 14th extraordinary congress should ask a prominent group of historians in as short a period of time as possible to "shed light on the role of Josip Broz Tito." We have recently been witnessing so-called attacks and defenses of Tito and a reassessment is necessary so that our children are left in no doubt about what the truth is and so that they do not have to learn about the truth from books," Milica Rajic concluded. [passage omitted]

Commenting on earlier proposals, Slobodan Milosevic, who presided over the final session, said that the name LCY should not be changed since the blame for the present situation does not rest with the name.

In reference to the debate on the role and work of Josip Broz Tito, Milosevic said that the attitude to Tito is not a matter of concern for the congress, but for history. The stance on Tito could turn out to be a stance on that part of our historical past of which we Yugoslavs have no reason to be ashamed. It is not right to attribute to Tito all the abuses that occurred in the later years of his life due to politicians who failed to gain people's confidence.

In reference to Kardelj, Milosevic endorsed the stand outlined by Milomir Minic on the need for reexamining political assessments of the role of individual historical personalities with the purpose of removing all taboos for the benefit of democratization.

At Milosevic's proposal the congress rejected a call for amending that part of the congress resolution since, according to Milosevic, the standpoints are very clear and precise. He agreed with Slobodan Kostic's remark about the need to eliminate abuses and injustice from the province.

In reference to a proposal that Milosevic, Trifunovic, and Jovic be decorated, Milosevic said that this belongs to the type of behavior the Serbian LC has now abandoned.

The delegates to the 11th congress of the Serbian LC then unanimously adopted the congress resolution, a document on the directions of the LC democratic reforms as well as a document of changes and amendments to the Serbian party statute.

The 11th Serbian LC congress has reiterated Serbian Communists' firm commitment to a united Serbia and Yugoslavia and their orientation to democratic changes and reforms, Bogdan Trifunovic, the newly elected president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, stressed, greeting the delegates and thanking them for confidence shown in him.

Only politically blind and ill-disposed people can ignore our Yugoslav and democratic orientations, Trifunovic said, adding that the Serbian LC is not a guardian of the old and outmoded; it is in fact the champion of everything new, modern, democratic, socialist, and Yugoslav.

The congress has endorsed the Serbian LC's policy over the last 2 years and has at the same time opened up scope for bold steps forward, Trifunovic said, going on to cite the struggle for economic progress and development, for further political and democratic forum, for a new constitution, for the development of a united and modern Serbia, for resolute efforts to resolve the Kosovo crisis, for unity in the LCY, and for a strong Yugoslavia, as Serbian Communists' priority tasks.

We have realized that there is no use in describing the situation and that instead we must roll up our sleves and get down to work in our organizations, Trifunovic said, going on to stress again that there will be no progress without democracy and that the leadership of the Serbian LC, which enjoys strong support by the Serbian and all other nations and nationalities of Serbia, will continue to listen to the people.

Having thanked all those who took part in the congress, the media, and those who had made the successful work of the congress possible, Trifunovic brought his speech to a conclusion with chants of Long Live the Serbian LC, Long Live United Serbia, Long Live the LCY, and Long Live our Beloved Homeland, Yugoslavia!

Following Trifunovic, the delegates and guests of the 11th congress were addressed by the chairman of the closing plenary session, Slobodan Milosevic.

Political events in our country over the last few years and the work of our congress over the last 3 days have justified the decision to insist on early LC congresses and conferences and on an extraordinary congress of the LCY. Reasons for an extraordinary congress were evident as far back as a year ago. Turbulent events both in our country and in the world today have forced the LC to state its views of them and to use a gathering like this one to make its contribution to inevitable changes, to changes conducive to progress. Our commitment to this is contained in a resolution adopted today.

This congress has shown that today both the Serbian LC and Serbia itself have at their disposal everything needed for success. We have the people, time, and a program for social reform, Slobodan Milosevic said.

Work has already started on implementing a reform program and the next 4 years will be marked by efforts to fulfill it. I think I share the mood of both the delegates here and of the public in Serbia when I say that the focus of our social reform must be an economic reform, i.e., efforts to improve personal and social standards of living.

At the moment both personal and social standards are so low that even if we wanted to, we could not give an equal treatment to all the mistakes committed in society. Those made in the sphere of material production and economic life must be given priority because they are, among other things, most difficult to eliminate.

Our economic life has already shown initial signs of positive changes. There is growing motivation and initiative among firms and individuals. Some firms in the social sector as well as many in the private sector work successfully and live well. The economic reform we have already embarked upon will enable a growing number of work collectives and individuals to be successful and to live increasingly better. This is our main goal, Milosevic stressed.

At the same time the economic reform will expose idleness and ficticious work. It will help to promote those who are creative and successful and will at the same time close the door to idleness, inertia, and irresponsibility. I think that this view of the economic reform has been confirmed at this congress and that it is gaining ground in firms and among individuals.

They can all help the reform along by trying to work more efficiently and successfully so that our products are of better quality, look better, and are less expensive, so that the buildings we live in are cleaner, text books are clearer, doctors are more patient with their patients, and so that at counters people do not plead for mercy, but instead expect their rights. All this and many other similar changes to be brought about by the reform show that economic reform will not just introduce a market mechanism in the economic life of our society but will also heighten the awareness of the need for one's own responsible attitude to work. In other words, the fate of each individual member of society will depend on both the behavior of society and on the individual's own behavior.

The last 2 years have been great for Serbia—it became united and mobilized and is now ready to embark on a social reform which, over the next 4 years at least, will be dominated by an economic reform. This is a big task and I am convinced that the outcome will be as successful as our activity in implementing constitutional and political changes over the last 2 years. For political and constitutional changes we needed courage, above all; for economic changes we need common sense. For both we need to firmly believe that we are working for the economic, democratic, and cultural prosperity of our own republic, our own state, for the way out of economic underdevelopment, for the elimination of bureaucratic mind and behavior, for ridding ourselves of the complex of Balkan backwardness, for resurrecting historical heritage and cultural values we have forgotten and of which the world either has a very fragmented knowledge or none at all.

We must also be adequately responsive to the times ahead, to technological and democratic dreams that will become a part of reality for future generations. This big, beautiful task will muster all progressive people in Serbia.

As for communists, they will be allotted the most difficult task at the time when everyone is looking for ways of achieving a "new and better world." Serbian Communists have at the congress put forward most progressive solutions, solutions that can be implemented and will not take a long time to be effective. With the firm belief that Serbian Communists are prepared to tackle this task and are mobilized to execute it, I wish you, comrades, and all citizens of Serbia success in carrying out the reform to which we are committed.

I hope that I share with all the delegates the belief that we are ready to do our utmost to ensure that our next congress takes place in an economically stronger Serbia, in a stable Yugoslavia and in a more peaceful, richer, and above all, more just world, Slobodan Milosevic said in his closing address.

The congress ended with the singing of the song "Yugoslavia" and tumultuous applause from the delegates and the guests of the 11th congress of Serbian LC.

Serbian LC Statutory Commission Chairman Elected

LD2612104989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 25 (TANJUG)—The statutory commission of the Serbian League of Communists today, at its first session, elected Jokic Dragic as its chairman and Nikola Jovanovic as its deputy chairman.

Serbian Presidency Discusses New Constitution

LD2812112989 Belrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—In the light of the profound economic crisis which has, to a large extent, resulted from the mistakes in the 1974 constitution, the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution has become a matter of great urgency and a prerequisite for creating the sound, long-term constitutional basis of a comprehensive reform of both the economic and political system and for Yugoslavia's stable social development. This was said at a session today of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia.

At the session, presided over by Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian Presidency discussed the SFRY Presidency's draft proposal of activities preceding the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution. It is reported that the session was also attended by Borisav Jovic and Dragutin Zelenovic, members of the SFRY Presidency; by the president of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, presidents of the presidencies of the socialist autonomous provinces, and leaders of the republic's socio-political organisations.

In the view of the Serbian Presidency, the draft proposal contains a whole series of solutions which only serve to perpetuate or even enhance aspects of the current confederal system in Yugoslavia, such as national economies, the right to secession, and the like, the Serbian Presidency stresses in a statement issued after the session. These and similar solutions are incompatible with the declared orientation towards a modern market economy and a single Yugoslav market and toward developing a modern democratic federation and an efficient federal state with all its rights and powers.

According to the Serbian Presidency, the new Constitution should be a clear, concise and, most important, a legal document free from spurious provisions. It must provide a firm basis for the successful economic and democratic development of the country and for the establishment of a democratic federation of equal nations and nationalities and an efficent federal state. The new constitution must guarantee widespread freedoms and rights for citizens and for the functioning of a law-governed state.

In view of this, the presidency of the SR of Serbia wants the new constitution to provide for the right to free political organizations. The main factors in the political system are the citizens of Yugoslavia whose interests and needs are at the foundation of our present-day social, economic, political, and cultural development which will help us to reaffirm the democratic ideas of socialism and eliminate separatist, undemocratic, antisocialist, anti-Yugoslav, and other conservative tendencies.

These principles alone can provide a long-term and sound basis for the stable, prosperous, democratic, and socialist development of Yugoslavia, the Serbian Presidency states in conclusion.